

# File #:

62-116395

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# Serial Scope:

650-EBF

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Released under the John  
F. Kennedy  
Assassination Records  
Collection Act of 1992  
(44 USC 2107 Note).  
Case#:NW 55167 Date:  
11-27-2017

SSC LETTER 7-14-75

ITEM # 9

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY SP2 ALM/ehj

RETAIN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *Also*

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Evans

DATE: November 22, 1964

FROM : W. C. Sullivan

- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan ☒ \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJECT: COMMUNISM AND THE NEGRO  
MOVEMENT--A CURRENT ANALYSIS

Enclosed is a paper, captioned as above, which depicts the communist influence in the Negro movement with emphasis on Martin Luther King, Jr. This paper is an up-to-date revision of the one by the same title prepared under the date of October 16, 1963. In updating it we emphasized three main areas: (1) the continued dependence of King upon former Communist Party, USA members, current and former Party sympathizers and his continued reliance on the long-time communist [Stanley David Levison]; (2) facts relating to the moral degeneracy of King; and (3) the recent and current Party aims and activities relative to the racial movement.

## RECOMMENDATION:

Upon approval, consideration will be given to appropriate dissemination.\* When approved, the paper should be returned to the Domestic Intelligence Division for printing and the preparation of appropriate letters if disseminated.

Enclosure

SFP:kao  
(10)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY SP1AM/ef

\* White House

Dept

State REG-23

CIA

Army, Navy, Air Force

USIA

11 DEC 10 1964

66 DEC 15 1964

EX-100

INT. SEC.

SENT DIRECTOR

FOR APPROVAL

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

ENCLOSURE



# RTE IN ENVELOPE

FORM NO. 10  
1962 EDITION  
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *Alber*

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

SUBJECT: *X* "COMMUNISM AND THE NEGRO  
MOVEMENT--A CURRENT ANALYSIS"

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Evans

DATE: 11/27/64 *REC-23*

1 - Mr. Rosen  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr. J. F. Bland  
1 - Mr. F. J. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. S. F. Phillips

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
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Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

My memorandum to you 11/22/64 submitted for approval a paper, captioned as above which depicts the communist influence in the Negro movement with emphasis on Martin Luther King, Jr. We have added information on the last four lines, page four, top paragraph, to show that on 11/24/64 King contacted Clarence Jones and asked that Jones and Stanley Levison submit five-minute speeches which King could use in accepting the Nobel Peace Prize. King would select the best material from these speeches. Jones and Levison are key advisors to King.

I have checked with Mr. Mohr and Mr. DeLoach who have advised that they have read this paper.

It is contemplated that dissemination will be made under Monday's date (11/30/64), if approved, to the following individuals:

The Honorable Bill D. Moyers, Special Assistant to the President, The White House  
The Acting Attorney General with copies to the Deputy Attorney General, Mr. Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General, and Mr. J. Walter Yeagley, Assistant Attorney General  
The Honorable Dean Rusk, The Secretary of State  
The Honorable John A. McCone, Director of Central Intelligence Agency  
The Honorable Carl T. Rowan, Director of United States Information Agency  
The Honorable Robert S. McNamara, The Secretary of Defense  
Major General Edgar C. Doleman, Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, Department of the Army  
Rear Admiral Rufus L. Taylor, Director of Naval Intelligence, Department of the Navy  
Colonel Joseph J. Cappucci, Director of Special Investigations, The Inspector General, Department of the Air Force  
Lieutenant General Joseph F. Carroll, Director, Defense Intelligence Agency

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY SP2AUM/ky

100-442529

Enclosures - 10 *sent*

fhb (11)

EX-102

CONTINUED 11 DEC 9 1964  
OVER 10

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.



Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont  
RE: "COMMUNISM AND THE NEGRO  
MOVEMENT--A CURRENT ANALYSIS"  
100-442529

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached transmittal letters be approved  
and sent.

*[Handwritten signature]*

*trb*

*[Handwritten signature]*

*Moyers letter revised  
& sent 12/1 -  
others related &  
sent out  
12/9/64  
ALB*

*see revised  
letter to  
Moyers 12-1  
Q*

SSC LETTER 7-14-75

ITEM # 13

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY *Ala/Am/ky*

*R-1000*



~~TOP SECRET~~

cc Mr. Sullivan  
cc Mr. Belmont  
cc Mr. DeLoach  
cc Mr. Rosen  
December 1, 1964

REC-23

BY LIAISON

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2/AM/dj  
ON 10/16/80

EX-100

Honorable Bill D. Moyers  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Moyers:

I thought the President would be interested in the enclosed current study entitled "Communism and the Negro Movement-- A Current Analysis."

Your advice is requested as to whether we should disseminate this document to responsible officials in the Executive Branch of the Government.

The sources used in the enclosure have furnished reliable information in the past, and because of their sensitive nature the document has been classified "~~Top Secret~~." Upon removal of the classified enclosure, this letter becomes unclassified.

Sincerely yours,

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~Unsanitized Disclosure~~  
~~Subject to Criminal Sanctions~~

Enclosure

AHB:CSH (6)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Tolson  
Belmont  
Mohr  
DeLoach  
Casper  
Callahan  
Conrad  
Evans  
Gale  
Rosen  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

~~TOP SECRET~~

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SSC LETTER 7/8/75

ITEM #7

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY *[signature]*

*BEVIN*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

MR. E. S. MILLER

1 - Mr. E. S. Miller

DATE: May 25, 1973

MR. G. C. MOORE

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

1 - Mr. J. A. Mintz

1 - Mr. C. E. Glass

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

SECURITY MATTER - COMMUNIST

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12/16/80 BY SP2AM/edj

Mr. Felt ☒  
Mr. Baker ☒  
Mr. Callahan ☒  
Mr. Cleveland ☒  
Mr. Conrad ☒  
Mr. Gebhardt ☒  
Mr. Jenkins ☒  
Mr. Marshall ☒  
Mr. Miller, E.S. ☒  
Mr. Soyars ☒  
Mr. Thompson ☒  
Mr. Walters ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Mr. Baise ☒  
Mr. Barnes ☒  
Mr. Bowers ☒  
Mr. Herington ☒  
Mr. Conmy ☒  
Mr. Mintz ☒  
Mr. Eardley ☒  
Mrs. Hogan ☒

The purpose of this memorandum is to furnish you information developed by a file review regarding allegations of former Special Agent (SA) Arthur Murtagh in "The New York Times" 5/21/73.

My memorandum 5/23/73 indicated Murtagh alleged important figures in the FBI tried to persuade community leaders in Atlanta, Georgia, they should not attend a banquet honoring King, with the warning that the Bureau had information about King that might eventually embarrass those who attended. He alleged that an Agent in Atlanta told him a top official from Washington called on two religious leaders and the late Ralph McGill, editor of the "Atlanta Constitution," to try to persuade them not to attend.

The attached copy of a memorandum from former Assistant to the Director W. C. Sullivan to A. H. Belmont dated 1/21/65 indicates that Sullivan did talk at least twice with McGill and discussed that subject and that McGill was to contact three religious leaders.

REC-8

3949

"The New York Times" article also indicated that Eugene Patterson, former editor of the "Atlanta Constitution," produced a recollection that a Special Agent of the FBI attempted in the Spring of 1964 to have Patterson expose King's running-around with women while posing as a moral leader.

10 JUN 1 1973

The attached memorandum W. C. Sullivan to A. H. Belmont dated 1/16/64 captioned "Communist Party, USA, Negro Question; Communist Influence in Racial Matters, IS - C," possibly pertains to this recollection by Patterson. We have located no reference that Patterson was subsequently utilized as the memorandum indicated that he could be.

CEG:ekw

(5)

CONTINUED - OVER

Enclosures

100-106670

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

8-1 JUN 5 1973



Memorandum to Mr. E. S. Miller  
RE: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Ralph McGill died in February, 1969.

Patterson was editor of the "Atlanta Constitution" from 6/60 to 9/68 when he became Managing Editor of the "Washington Post." He is reportedly now President and Publisher of the "St. Petersburg, (Florida), Times." He was a member of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission and was named Vice Chairman of that commission by President Johnson in 1968.

ACTION:

For information.

CEG/hrs

~~7~~

EM/wal

WOK

HO

gln

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO: Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: January 21, 1965

FROM: Mr. W. C. Sullivan

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. A. Sizoo
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
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Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.  
SECURITY MATTER - C

This morning Mr. Ralph McGill, publisher of the "Atlanta Constitution," Atlanta, Georgia, and a long-time admirer of the Director, dropped by the office to discuss with me Martin Luther King, Jr. With Bureau approval, I had previously given McGill some of the basic facts concerning King's connections with communism and his immoral behavior.

McGill told me that on being advised of the facts concerning King, he has remained completely silent. As a result, he is being questioned by associates in Atlanta, Georgia, as to why he is not speaking out in favor of King and why he is not taking an active part in the banquet to be given King next Wednesday night. McGill said that he would never disclose a confidence and, therefore, his only reply is that he no longer is an admirer of Martin Luther King. Further, he has talked with some other men who have told him of their knowledge of King's immorality and their concern about it. In view of this, he is free to speak a little bit more in detail and says he has done so for it can be attributed to the men with whom he has spoken.

McGill said that these men are Adlai Stevenson, Ralph Bunche, and Harry Ashmore of the "Arkansas Gazette." He told me that Adlai Stevenson advised him without being questioned about King that he is aware of King's immoral activities. Stevenson told McGill that he considers King to be a "very dangerous man" to the civil rights movement and that something should be done about it. Ralph Bunche told McGill that he has never been an admirer of King's although he thinks King has done some good things; that a few months ago he began hearing very disturbing stories about King's immoral behavior. Bunche believes that King should be maneuvered out of the civil rights field or else he will do it serious damage. Mr. Ashmore, likewise, informed McGill that he had heard some time ago about King's incredibly immoral activities. Ashmore is very disturbed over it and wishes something could be done but he has no specific course to recommend.

Mr. McGill told me that following my first discussion with him a few weeks ago he contacted a banker friend in Atlanta who was helping to finance the banquet to be given King next Wednesday night. The banker was disturbed and said he would contact some other bankers also

Enclosure sent 1-22-65  
WCS:lm1 (7)

94-18048

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4 FEB 10 1965



Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

involved and see if support could be quietly withdrawn. McGill's friend and some of the bankers did take steps to withdraw but this was very quickly relayed to bankers in Haiti who were on the threshold of an important financial deal with the Atlanta, Georgia, bankers. They took the position that if the Atlanta bankers did not support the Martin Luther King party, their financial deal with these Georgia bankers was off. As McGill said to me, the almighty dollar is still extremely important and especially so with bankers, and as a result they got cold feet and I decided to go ahead with financing King's party.

McGill told me that Archbishop Hallinan, Catholic leader in Georgia, an Episcopal clergyman and a Jewish rabbi are also quite active in support of this party for King. He said that he is certain that not one of these three is aware of King's immoral behavior. I told him that in view of what Stevenson, Bunche, and Ashmore had told him, he might want to explore very confidentially and discreetly the subject matter with these three men. He said he would do this.

McGill told me that he thinks it is too late now, especially in view of the financial interest of the Georgia bankers in the Haiti deal, to prevent the banquet from taking place. However, McGill said he would do what he could to encourage key people to limit their praise and support of King as much as possible.

McGill also told me that he is taking steps through Ralph Bunche to get key Negro leaders to unite in opposition to King and to gradually force him out of the civil rights movement if at all possible.

Mr. McGill said that he would like to have President Johnson know three things-- (1) that from diverse sources he has learned of the incredibly immoral behavior of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and his deceiving of sincere, good people in this Nation who have been supporting King; (2) that he regrets greatly that the banquet is being given in King's honor next week in Atlanta but that it has gone so far that it is probably not possible to head it off; and (3) that he believes that the very best thing that could happen would be to have King step completely out of the civil rights movement and public life for he feels that if this is not done, sooner or later King will be publicly exposed and this will do irreparable harm to the civil rights movement in which he, McGill and others are so interested and have worked so hard for, and likewise, it will do injury to different citizens of the country who have been supporting King not knowing that he is of such low moral character.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
Re: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Mr. McGill said that if he had had time to see President Johnson before leaving Washington, he would have told him these three things, but that he wanted the Director to know that he is free to quote him on these three points to the President and free to put all three things in any communication that goes to the White House from the Bureau.

It is very refreshing to meet a man of McGill's stature in the field of journalism who is so sincere and honest and desirous of doing the right thing. He is a very admirable man. Repeatedly, Mr. McGill told me that he will continue to stay with this problem and to think about it, hoping that he will devise some plan or course of action that will help to take King out of public life. McGill told me in a visibly disturbed manner that this problem centering around King has caused him to wake up at night from time to time and he is very upset over it. McGill explained that while he has never been close to King or an active supporter thereof, he has been completely identified and very active in furthering civil rights and better conditions for the Negroes. He thinks that King's behavior now known to him when publicly exposed will do irreparable damage to such social causes that he and others have been sponsoring throughout a lifetime.

RECOMMENDATION:

Enclosed will be found a letter to the White House setting forth McGill's discussion for approval and forwarding. Inasmuch as McGill mentioned only the President's getting this information, we do not contemplate any further dissemination.

✓  
of  
P

Q to

Wes



1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Mohr  
1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Sullivan

January 22, 1965

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/50 BY 4211M/14

BY LIAISON

1 - J. A. Sizoo  
1 - F. J. Baumgardner  
1 - S. F. Phillips

OP  
Honorable Bill D. Moyers  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Moyers:

On January 21, 1965, Mr. Ralph McGill, publisher of the "Atlanta Constitution," Atlanta, Georgia, asked a representative of this Bureau to communicate the following information to the President. Mr. McGill, who expressed great admiration for the President, advised that in the recent past he has learned from several sources about the incredibly immoral activities of Martin Luther King, Jr. Mr. McGill explained that he was shocked to learn of this and immediately realized what serious consequences King's misbehavior could have for the civil rights movement in which Mr. McGill has been actively interested for years.

REC'D-READING ROOM  
JAN 27 11 20 AM '65

Mr. McGill made three points: (1) that from diverse sources he has learned of the incredibly immoral behavior of King, and of King's deceiving of sincere, good people in this Nation who have been supporting King; (2) that he regrets greatly that a banquet is being given in King's honor next week in Atlanta, but that arrangements have now reached the point it is probably not possible to prevent the banquet; and (3) that he believes that the very best thing that could happen would be to have King step completely out of the civil rights movement and public life for he feels that if this is not done, sooner or later King will be publicly exposed. Mr. McGill believes that an exposure of King will do irreparable harm to the civil rights movement in which he, Mr. McGill, and others are so interested and have worked so hard for; and likewise it will do injury to different citizens of the country who have been supporting King, not knowing of King's strange behavior.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

WCS/SFP:jad  
(9)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized person without the express approval of the FBI.



Honorable Bill D. Moyers

Mr. McGill told this Bureau's representative that if it had not been necessary for him to leave Washington, D. C., immediately, he would have liked to convey this message to the President in person. However, in view of the necessity for his hasty departure, he asked that his views be transmitted to the President by the FBI.

Sincerely yours,

NOTE:

See cover memorandum Mr. W. C. Sullivan to Mr. A. H. Belmont, dated 1/21/65, captioned "Martin Luther King, Jr., Security Matter - Communist," prepared by WCS:lm1.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: 1/16/64

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Forsyth
- 1 - Mr. Ryan
- 1 - Mr. Phillips

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY SP2/MLG F. J. P.

Yesterday afternoon (1/15/64) I talked on the telephone with our Atlanta Office and at that time spoke with SA Alden F. Miller who is working on the Martin Luther King case. Miller advised me that he is a very close personal friend of Eugene Patterson, Editor of the "Atlanta Constitution." Realizing what a scoundrel King is, Miller began to think about possible ways and means of exposing King which would be of benefit to the Bureau. While talking to Patterson on other matters, Miller theorized with Patterson about men of questionable character in public life and did Patterson think they should be exposed. Patterson took a strong stand on the matter and said it would be a public service if some people were exposed. Of course, no reference at all was made to King by Miller. Miller said that knowing Patterson personally and getting his views indirectly on this general subject matter leads Miller to believe that if at any time in the future the Bureau would want to utilize Patterson and his newspaper it could be done very securely.

I thanked Miller for his interest in this matter and told him that this type of thing would be handled out of the Bureau headquarters and that if we thought this particular person could be utilized he would be advised but to take no action until that time.

## ACTION:

For the record.

100-3-116

1 - 100-106670 (Martin Luther King, Jr.)

WCS:eeb (8)

REC-45

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.



# No Pressure From FBI, Atlanta Leaders Report

By RALEIGH BRYANS

Several prominent Atlantans Monday said they were not aware, in 1965, of any attempts by FBI agents to persuade them they should not attend a dinner to honor the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Former Mayor Ivan Allen Jr., Mayor Sam Massell, former Atlanta Police Chief Herbert T. Jenkins and Helen Bullard, one of the white organizers of the dinner for Dr. King, said they recalled no such activity on the part of the FBI.

They were reacting to statements by Arthur Murtagh, now a lawyer in Constable, N.Y., but for 11 years (until 1971) an agent in the FBI headquarters in Atlanta, in an interview with the New York Times.

Murtagh told the times among other things that the FBI had used information it obtained through electronic surveillance in an effort to discredit the civil rights leader among his white backers.

To The Atlanta Journal Monday, Murtagh reiterated something else he had said—that there had been a well-orchestrated effort by the FBI to discourage attendance of white leaders at the dinner in 1965 which was organized to acknowledge King's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize a few months earlier (in October 1964).

If key Atlantans like those already named do not recall such activity by FBI agents, it may be because they don't want to, Murtagh stoutly maintained Monday.

"I think some of these peo-

ple might not want to give the information even if they knew," he said.

Murtagh did say the gist of what FBI agents were attempting to do was to convince people, including a couple of Atlanta clergymen and the late Ralph McGill, publisher of The Atlanta Constitution, that King, though married and projecting the image of a moral leader, was having affairs on the side with various women.

"What Eugene Patterson (former editor of The Constitution) says (in the New York Times article published Monday) is what it's all about," said Murtagh.

Patterson, now president and publisher of the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times, said an FBI agent had called on him almost a year before the dinner in King's honor and told him King was known to be running around with women.

Former Mayor Allen, who attended the dinner given for King, said flatly that he could recall no such activity on the part of the FBI. Allen said he even checked back into his papers to refresh his memory.

Miss Bullard did recall that there had been some white business leaders who resisted the idea of the city's honoring Dr. King. But she said this initial resistance by a nominal number of persons largely vanished by the time the dinner came off.

"I think nearly everybody was there," recalled Miss Bullard. "The real creme de la creme was there that night and they walked in just as proudly as you please."

Murtagh said from his home Monday that his recollections about incidents in Atlanta will be included in a book he now is writing and would not have been brought out now except for the Watergate affair.

"My emphasis on this is in getting reform in the bureau (the FBI) and the only reason I got into it is because of the Watergate affair. I believe now that some of what I will be saying in my book will be believable in light of that (Watergate)."

Murtagh did gain credibility among some persons here in respect to the central statement that Dr. King was under surveillance by the FBI during the early and mid-'60s.

"He believed his telephone was bugged and I thought mine probably was too," said Maj. Howard Baugh of the Atlanta Police Department. Baugh, who is black, knew King quite well.

Former Police Chief Jenkins said: "A lot of things that are a surprise to other people (revelations in the Watergate affair) aren't any surprise to me."

The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, King's close associate during the '60s and his successor as head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said Murtagh is "telling the truth."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY SP2/awp/ky

P. 2A

Atlanta Journal

Atlanta, Ga.

Date: 5/21/73  
Edition: Evening  
Author: Raleigh Bryans  
Editor: Reg Murphy  
Title: COMINFIL  
SCLC

Character: SCLC

or  
Classification: 100-571  
Location: Atlanta

Enclosure

enclosure



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY SP2A/LM/ely

1965 BANQUET

# Ex-Officials Deny FBI Calls on King

Several former Atlanta officials Monday denied having been contacted in 1965 by FBI agents trying to talk them out of attending a banquet honoring Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Denials of FBI interference were issued by Mayor Sam Massell (then vice mayor), former Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. and former U.S. Congressman Charles Weltner.

Former Police Chief Herbert T. Jenkins declined comment and said, "I'd have to go back and refresh my memory."

The officials were responding to a story in The Constitution Monday quoting Arthur Murtagh, an upstate New York lawyer and 11 year veteran of the Atlanta FBI office, who said agents tried to dissuade local community leaders from attending a dinner in honor of King's winning the Nobel Peace Prize.

Murtagh said the agents warned that they had information about King, derived from wiretaps, that could prove an embarrassment to persons attending the testimonial.

As it turned out, the dinner was considered a success as some 1,500 persons including the major Atlanta political figures of the day, turned out on the evening of Jan. 27, 1965, at the Dinkler Plaza.

Former Mayor Allen said he received "no contact to my knowledge or memory and I did not hear any gossip from any sources."

Allen explained that there were some difficulties getting the banquet organized. "It was the first fully integrated dinner in any downtown Atlanta hotel. There were problems getting the dinner together, but not the kind this man (Murtagh) reported," the former mayor said.

(The dinner was held more than three months after King was announced as the 1964 recipient of the coveted peace prize.)

Weltner, currently a candidate for mayor, said he was a sponsor of the dinner but had not attended because he was in Washington at the time.

However, he said, "no one in any official capacity ever suggested that I do or not do anything in regard to Dr. King."

The Rev. Edward A. Driscoll, then executive director of the Georgia Council of Churches and an organizer of the dinner, said there were "no overt acts toward me or specific actions, none of that."

The only problem with the dinner, Rev. Driscoll recalled, was that "at the early stages no great momentum could be generated. Then a small group got together and decided ... that this was something we couldn't pass up. It was an honor to the city."

Despite Allen's recollection that "a great number of threats" were reported to the Atlanta police before the dinner, only one notable incident took place.

As Dr. King and his family arrived at the downtown hotel, restaurant owner Charles Lebedin stood on the sidewalk and shouted, "Peace ... peace ... peace with violence! Peace. A lot of baloney!"

Leb's restaurant had been the target of mass sit-in demonstrations spearheaded by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

However, Lebedin said Monday that "no one called me," when asked if he had been contacted by the FBI.

The only former official who did not formally deny contacts from the FBI was former Police Chief Jenkins. Asked if he could remember any calls, Jenkins said, "I'd rather not be quoted on that."

Georgia Sen. Herman Talmadge, who did not have any connection with the dinner, but who was quoted as being shocked that the peace prize would be given to "persons who advocate law-breaking," flatly denied Monday that anyone had contacted him.

(Name of newspaper)  
newspaper

P. 9A

Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

Date: 5/22/73  
Edition: Morning  
Author:  
Editor: Reg Murphy  
Title: COMINFIL  
SCLC

Character: SCLC

or  
Class: 100-5  
Subject: Atlanta

Enclosure  
Enclosure

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Rev. King's banquet blasted by Atlantain

ATLANTA — In a recent letter to The Times a New Yorker asked a fair question about the King testimonial affair but it is unlikely that he will get a satisfactory answer from those who promoted or attended the soiree.

A lot of us also wonder why all the whoop-de-do for a man who denounced rescue of white missionaries from an army of murderous cannibals; who taught at a school considered to be un-American and perhaps subversive; who collaborates with a man whose moral and political background is suspect; who is a disciple of Gandhi but nevertheless prefers the lush to the simple life; who chickened out on solemn vows to stay in jail until he got his way; who went along with the "lie" about use of government transportation until the evidence became overwhelming, then tried to laugh it off; who nudges children into the front lines of controversies and demonstrations; who is opposed to the House Committee on Un-American Activities; who admits that he is immune to criticism and appears not to care whether Negroes, whites, integrationists, segregationists, labor or anyone else gets hurt by his activities such as the boycotts he promotes; who teaches his followers to complain but seldom, if ever, urges them to develop talents and skills or do constructive rather than negative thinking; who indicated interest in holding conversations with the dictator Ben Bella, and who made irresponsible statements abroad about his homeland.

This list could go on and on but the questions are likely to remain unanswered by Rev. King's torch-bearers.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY SP2 MML/ely

*File 100-106670*

*File 100-106670*

*100-106670*

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 4.  
The Atlanta Times  
Atlanta, Georgia

Date: 2/27/65  
Edition: Final  
Author:  
Editor: Luke Greene  
Title: Martin Luther King, Jr.

Character: RM  
or  
Classification:  
Submitting Office: Atlanta  
☒ Being Investigated

100-106670-11  
MAR 10 1965

70 MAR 17 1965

APR 1 1965



Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Sullivan ☒  
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 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 10/16/00 BY [signature]

UPI-231

(KING)

ATLANTA--DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. WAS PAID A STIRRING PUBLIC TRIBUTE IN HIS HOMETOWN TONIGHT. HE CALLED ON "MILLIONS OF PEOPLE OF GOODWILL" IN THE WHITE SOUTH TO RAISE THEIR SILENT VOICES ON THE RACE ISSUE.

"IN THE NAME OF GOD, IN THE INTEREST OF HUMAN DIGNITY AND FOR THE CAUSE OF DEMOCRACY THESE MILLIONS ARE CALLED UPON TO GIRD THEIR COURAGE, TO SPEAK OUT, TO OFFER LEADERSHIP THAT IS NEEDED," KING SAID.

THE NEGRO INTEGRATION LEADER SPOKE BEFORE MORE THAN 1,500 OF HIS FELLOW TOWNSMEN--WHITE AND NEGRO--GATHERED IN A PLUSH DOWNTOWN HOTEL BALLROOM TO PAY TRIBUTE TO HIM AS WINNER OF THE 1964 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE.

THE HUGE BANQUET FOR KING WAS UNIQUE IN ATLANTA FOR A NEGRO. THE NEAREST APPROACH TOOK PLACE 68 YEARS AGO IN A CITY PARK WHEN BOOKER T. WASHINGTON DELIVERED HIS FAMOUS "CAST DOWN YOUR BUCKETS WHERE YOU ARE" ADDRESS AT THE COTTON STATES EXPOSITION IN 1895. IN THAT SPEECH WASHINGTON URGED NEGROES TO THROW ASIDE THE ROUTINE AND TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE OPPORTUNITIES AVAILABLE TO THEM.

KING PLEDGED TO CONTINUE HIS FIGHT TO END EVERY FACET OF RACIAL SEGREGATION AND PLEDGED IT WOULD BE DONE NON-VIOLENTLY. AND HE ADDED "WE STILL HAVE A LONG, LONG WAY TO GO BEFORE RACIAL JUSTICE IS A REALITY FOR THE NEGRO."

HE SAID THE NEGROES' AIM "MUST NEVER BE TO DEFEAT OR HUMILIATE THE WHITE MAN, BUT TO WIN HIS FRIENDSHIP AND UNDERSTANDING. WE MUST NOT SEEK TO SUBSTITUTE ONE TYRANNY FOR ANOTHER. A DOCTRINE OF BLACK SUPREMACY IS AS DANGEROUS AS A DOCTRINE OF WHITE SUPREMACY," HE SAID.

1/27--N745PES

NOT RECORDED

FEB 4 1965

FEB 5 1965



Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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UPI-260

ADD KING, ATLANTA (UPI-231)

ONE BRIEF BUT NOISY RACIAL INCIDENT BY TWO WHITE MEN OCCURRED AS KING, HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN, ARRIVED AT THE HOTEL.

WINDING UP THE UNUSUAL EVENING OF TRIBUTE, THE ENTIRE AUDIENCE OF WHITES AND NEGROES SAANG THE INTEGRATION CAMPAIGN SONG, "WE SHALL OVERCOME." JACOB ROTHCHILD, AN ATLANTA RABBI WHOSE SYNAGOGUE WAS BOMBED SEVERAL YEARS AGO SAID: "NEVER I THINK HAS IT BEEN SUNG UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, IN SUCH A PLACE AND BY SUCH A GATHERING AS WE HAVE HERE TONIGHT."

ATLANTA'S TOP PROFESSIONAL AND BUSINESS EXECUTIVES AS WELL AS LEADERS FROM THE PROTESTANT, CATHOLIC AND JEWISH RELIGIONS ATTENDED THE BANQUET, AND JOINED TOGETHER IN SINGING THE SONG. MANY OF THEM HAD WORKED TO OVERCOME STRONG FEELINGS AMONG SOME OF THE CITY'S TOP PLANNERS WHO HAD FROWNED ON THE BANQUET BECAUSE OF KING'S CONTROVERSIAL ACITIVITIES, INCLUDING LEADING NEGRO WORKERS IN A RECENT STRIKE AGAINST A MAJOR LOCAL INDUSTRY, THE SCRIPTO COMPANY.

KING SAID ONE OF THE BIGGEST BATTLES ENCOUNTERED IN HIS STRUGGLE AGAINST TRADITIONAL SOUTHERN RACIAL BARRIERS "WAS NOT THE VITRICLIC WORDS AND THE VIOLENT ACTIONS OF THE BAD PEOPLE BUT THE APPALLING SILENCE AND INDIFFERENCE OF THE GOOD PEOPLE."

1/27--N1120PES

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 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

UPI-261

ADD KING ATLANTA

ALTHOUGH THE BANQUET GOT OFF TO A CONTROVERSIAL START IN THE CITY FOR LACK OF CIVIC BACKING, SPONSORS IN THE END WERE SWAMPED WITH TICKET REQUESTS AT \$6.50 A PIECE. THEY FINALLY TURNED AWAY MORE THAN 500 APPLICANTS. MAYOR IVAN ALLEN LED THE LIST OF SPONSORS FOR THE EVENT.

DURING THE BANQUET, KING'S WIFE AND CHILDREN--WHO SELDOM SEE HIM BECAUSE OF HIS CONSTANT TRAVELING--SAT BY HIS SIDE. HIS FATHER, THE REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING SR., WAS ALSO THERE. THE YOUNGER KING IS ASSISTANT PASTOR OF HIS FATHER'S ATLANTA CHURCH.

AS KING AND HIS FAMILY ARRIVED AT THE HOTEL, A WHITE MAN, CHARLES LEBEDIN BEGAN YELLING "PEACE. PEACE. WHAT A LOT OF BALONEY." LEBEDIN IS OWNER OF "LEB'S" A POPULAR DOWNTOWN RESTAURANT ABOUT ONE BLOCK FROM THE HOTEL. THE RESTAURANT WAS A LONGTIME TARGET OF MILITANT INTEGRATIONISTS A YEAR AGO. LEBEDIN WAS JOINED BY ONE OF HIS WHITE MANAGERS WHO CALLED OUT: "I OUGHT TO GIVE HIM (KING) A PIECE OF MY FIST."

WHEN POLICE CHIEF HERBERT JENKINS, WHO WAS IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES, APPROACHED THE MANAGER HE LEFT THE LOBBY SAYING: "WHAT A HULLABALLOO OVER THAT NIGGER. GO AHEAD AND ARREST ME. I DON'T CARE."

1/27--N1139PES

3

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/80 BY SP2AM/ldj

## In Doing Honor to Dr. King, Atlanta Did Honor to Itself Before the World

In doing honor to Dr. Martin Luther King, recipient of the 1964 Nobel Prize for Peace, Atlanta also did honor to itself.

For this act represented the graciousness and good sense for which Atlanta is distinguishing itself.

The holding of the dinner, with its impressive cross-section of the city's white and Negro communities, in itself spoke profoundly of the progress that has been made in racial justice. Ten years ago, such a gathering would have been impossible—not because Atlanta lacked men of goodwill, but because custom and law would have barred the way.

Progress in the past decade has come in many modes—by court order, by direct action demonstrations, by act of Congress and, most important, by individuals' examination of their own consciences.

In the public mind, Dr. King is most commonly identified with protest actions, including their excesses, and because of this he is a controversial figure.

But it was more for his religious conviction

that the Nobel committee honored Dr. King, and it was that conviction in particular that Atlantans saluted Wednesday night. It is a philosophy that the world could well pray will prevail in the resolving of so many conflicting interests: one that resists evil without violence and seeks to expunge hatred with love.

Roman Catholic Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan aptly epitomized it with the observation that "it is as explosive as it is majestic. It is from the 118th Psalm . . . 'I will walk in liberty, O Lord, because I seek Thy precepts.'"

It was especially appropriate that religious leaders—Protestant, Jewish and Catholic, white and black—played so prominent a role in the dinner here.

Through radio network and the Voice of America, the nation and the world listened as Atlanta's clergymen; political, professional, business and civic leaders, and interested citizens gathered to honor this Nobel Prize winner. For those in attendance, it was a stirring evening. For Atlanta, it brought the respect of the world.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 4

The Atlanta  
Constitution,  
Atlanta, Georgia

Date: 1/29/65

Edition: Morning

Author:

Editor: EUGENE PATTERSON

Title: MARTIN LUTHER  
KING, JR.

Character: IS - C

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: Atlanta

☐ Being Investigated

NOT RECORDED

46 FEB 8 1965

56 FEB 8 1965



# ATLANTA PRAISES DR. KING AT FETE

Integration Leader Honored  
for Winning Nobel Prize

By FRED POWLEDGE

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Jan. 27 — The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. received praise tonight from the leaders of a city that once arrested him in a sit-in demonstration.

The Atlantans, many of them white, gathered at a testimonial dinner to give a specially commissioned Steuben glass bowl to the 36-year-old Negro integrationist in recognition of his winning the Nobel Peace Prize last year.

The bowl contained a representation of a dogwood flower and the inscription:

"To Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Citizen of Atlanta, Recipient of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize, with respect and admiration, January 27, 1965."

Atlanta has long been known as the "Dogwood City."

Tonight's presentation, and the planning of it, were symbolic of Atlanta's attitude on race relations.

## Hesitation at First

At first, members of the city's white power structure were hesitant about endorsing a testimonial dinner for a Negro leader who has been responsible for so much desegregation in the South. There were moments after the planning started six or eight weeks ago when it appeared that the dinner could not be held because of internal conflicts.

Some members of the financial leadership—men who have made many of the city's previous decisions on whether and how to desegregate—met and decided not to become sponsors of the affair. While they were deliberating, however, many others welcomed the opportunity to sign on as sponsors and the dinner became a sell-out.

Some Atlanta integrationists were chuckling today over a well-documented report that several of the companies and individuals who had declined sponsorship had later asked for more tickets for the \$6.50-a-plate dinner. There were not enough tickets left, however, and some had to go without.

One concern, Rich's Department Store, was reported to have asked for 20 tickets, but got only four. It was on the sixth floor of Rich's, in an eating place called the Magnolia Room, that Dr. King was arrested on Oct. 18, 1960, when he sought service with a group of Negro students from Atlanta University.

The slight, soft-spoken Baptist minister said at the time that his family had spent \$4,500 at Rich's during the previous year and that he felt he should be as welcome in the Magnolia Room as in the clothing department.

## An Issue Long Debated

The issue that Dr. King and the students raised in 1960 became an issue that the city debated for many months. In each instance, the city's political and financial leaders agreed that the reputation of the growing city, the largest in the Southeast, would be gravely damaged by racial trouble.

The result was widespread desegregation of most city facilities, from schools to swimming pools. Tastefully dressed Negro women, tired from shopping at Rich's, now stop in at the Magnolia Room for a luncheon salad and few whites raise their eyebrows.

The situation is the same in almost all of the city's other respectable eating places.

Of the 102 sponsors for the banquet, about 75 were white. They included the presidents of Emory and Oglethorpe Universities and Agnes Scott and Morehouse Colleges; leading lawyers, real-estate men, financial executives, and architects; city political leaders, directors of Atlanta-based human-relations groups, newspaper people, and ministers.

Also among the sponsors were the state's two Negro Senators, Leroy Johnson and Horace T. Ward. Senator Johnson was the first member of his race to be elected to the Georgia Legislature since Reconstruction.

The dinner was held in the Dinkler Plaza Hotel, which once had a policy of rigid discrimination against Negroes. The hotel desegregated last summer.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY SP2ALM/alg

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*Philip*

*W. H. W.*

*(last)*

*John*

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NOT RECORDED  
176 FEB 3 1965

The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
The New York Times 100 15  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
Date 1-28-65

56 FEB 3 1965

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# 1,500 Join to Honor Nobel Winner King

By TED SIMMONS

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was paid tribute Wednesday night by a standing-room-only crowd of more than 1,500 representing his hometown's business, civic, political and religious leaders.

Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. led the praise for the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize winner when he told the audience of whites and Negroes:

"Through the years, as history is wrought, some men are destined to be leaders of humanity and to shape the future courses of the world. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is such a man.

"I take great pride in honoring this citizen of Atlanta who

is willing to turn the other cheek in his quest for full citizenship for all Americans."

At the conclusion of the three-hour affair at the Dinkler Plaza, Rabbi Jacob Rothschild of The Temple presented Dr. King with a Steuben bowl inscribed with a dogwood blossom, symbol of Atlanta.

The inscription read: "Doctor Martin Luther King Jr., citizen of Atlanta, recipient of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize. With Respect and Admiration."

## SYMBOL OF ESTEEM

In presenting the gift, Rabbi Rothschild called it a "symbol of the esteem in which so many of your fellow Atlantans hold you."

The banquet, sponsored by 134 of the city's leading citizens, went off with only one minor incident. When Dr. King and his family appeared at the hotel, restaurant owner Charlie Leb stood on the sidewalk and shouted, "Peace... Peace... Peace with violence! Peace! A lot of baloney!"

Leb's restaurant was the target of mass sit-in demonstrations spearheaded by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee prior to passage of the Civil Rights Act.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 9

The Atlanta  
Constitution,  
Atlanta, Georgia

Date: 1/28/65

Edition: Morning

Author: TED SIMMONS

Editor: EUGENE PATTERSON

Title: MARTIN LUTHER  
KING, JR.

Character: IS - C

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: Atlanta

☐ Being Investigated

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DATE 10/16/00 BY SP2/KML/ELJ

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46 FEB 8 1965



#### IGNORES INCIDENT

Dr. King, who appeared to ignore the incident on the sidewalk, later told the crowd in his address that there are in the "white South millions of people of good will, whose voices are yet unheard, whose course is yet unclear, and whose courageous acts are yet unseen."

He called on those people "in the name of God, in the interest of human dignity and for the cause of Democracy . . . to speak out, to offer the leadership that is needed."

#### OTHER TRIBUTES

"If the people of good will of the white South fail to act now, history will have to record that the greatest tragedy of this period of social transition was not the vitriolic words and the violent actions of the bad people, but the appalling silence and indifference of the good people," he said. "Our generation will have to repent not only for the words and acts of the children of darkness, but also for the fears and apathy of the children of light."

Joining Mayor Allen and Rabbi Rothschild in tributes to King were the Rev. Paul J. Hallinan, Roman Catholic archbishop of Atlanta, state Sen. Leroy Johnson, the Rev. Edward A. Driscoll, executive director of the Georgia Council of Churches, Bishop Ernest J. Hickman, and Dr. Benjamin H. Mays, president of Morehouse College.



Staff Photo—Billy Downs

# DR. KING RECEIVES GIFT FROM CITY'S LEADERS

Presentation Is Made by Rabbi Rothschild



# Home Town Pays Tribute To Dr. King

ATLANTA, Jan. 27 (UPI) — The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was paid a stirring public tribute in his home town tonight. He called on "millions of people of goodwill" in the white South to raise their silent voices on the race issue.

"In the name of God, in the interest of human dignity and for the cause of democracy these millions are called upon to gird their courage, to speak out, to offer leadership that is needed," Dr. King said.

The Negro integration leader spoke before more than 1500 of his fellow townsmen—white and Negro — gathered in a downtown hotel ballroom to pay tribute to him as winner of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize. The audience included a large number of the city's religious, business and professional leaders.

Dr. King said the greatest period of social transition "was not the vitriolic words and the violent actions of the bad people but the appalling silence and indifference of the good people."

He said the mighty challenge of today in the South is "to rise from the sins of a dark yesterday to the positive achievements of a bright tomorrow."

Dr. King concluded his prepared address with the words of a Negro slave preacher:

"Lord, we ain't what we ought to be;  
"We ain't what we want to be;  
"We ain't what we gonna be;  
"But thank God, we ain't what we was."

Dr. King's wife and children were by his side. His father stood in the receiving line with former Mayor William B. Hartsfield.

The banquet got off to a shaky start for lack of civic backing, but sponsors eventually were swamped with ticket requests at \$6.50 each and finally turned away more than 500 applicants. Mayor Ivan Allen led the list of sponsors.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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*5 Phillips*

*Whitaker (last)*

*To [unclear]*

100-106670-A  
NOT RECORDED  
176 FEB 4 1965

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY SP2A/W/ky

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FEB 4 1965

The Washington Post and Times Herald *A4*  
The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
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New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
Date *1-28-65*

*File 100-106670*

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Atlantans Pay Tribute To Dr. King

By PAUL VALENTINE

More than 1,500 persons jammed the Dinkler Plaza Hotel Wednesday night to pay tribute to the first Georgia-born Nobel Peace Prize winner, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

It marked the only large-scale formal recognition of the Negro civil rights leader in the state since he was announced winner of the Peace Prize last October.

"Tonight, Atlanta affirms what the world has already affirmed," was the way Roman Catholic Archbishop of Atlanta Rev. Paul J. Hallinan put it.

The archbishop and several other civic and religious leaders of the city praised Dr. King in a round of speeches before the standing-room-only crowd.

A number of police officers were also on hand for anticipated picketing of the King tribute. But no organized anti-King effort materialized.

CHARLES LEBEDIN, owner of Leb's Restaurant, appeared briefly in front of the hotel, however, with three or four associates waiting for Dr. King's arrival.

Asked why he had not formed an anticipated picket line, Mr. Lebedin said, "I couldn't get anyone with the guts to come out here tonight."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY SP2AUM/ely

Moments later, when Dr. King and his wife arrived, Mr. Lebedin shouted:

"Peace, peace—and violence. A lot of baloney. Peace."

Leb's Restaurant was the focal point of desegregation attempts last winter in a series of massive demonstrations sponsored by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Mayor Ivan Allen was among the city leaders praising Dr. King.

"Some men are destined to be leaders in the world," said the mayor. "... The philosophy of the nonviolent movement is being proved. ... This method of social revolution has been acclaimed by the Nobel Peace Prize."

In his speech of response, Dr. King said:

"The issue is no longer whether segregation and discrimination will be eliminated but how they will pass from the American scene.

"The deep rumbling of discontent that we hear today is the thunder of disinherited masses, rising from dungeons of oppression to the bright hills of freedom."

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 12  
The Atlanta Journal,  
Atlanta, Georgia

Date: 1/28/65  
Edition: Final  
Author: PAUL VALENTINE  
Editor: JACK SPALDING  
Title: MARTIN LUTHER  
KING, JR.

Character: IS - C  
or

Classification:

Submitting Office: Atlanta

☐ Being Investigated

NOT RECORDED

46 FEB 8 1965

FEB 9 1965



DR. KING ~~CITED~~ progress in civil liberties through school desegregation successes and the more recent passage of the Civil Rights Act.

"I am happy to report that communities all over the South are obeying the civil rights law and showing remarkable good sense in the process."

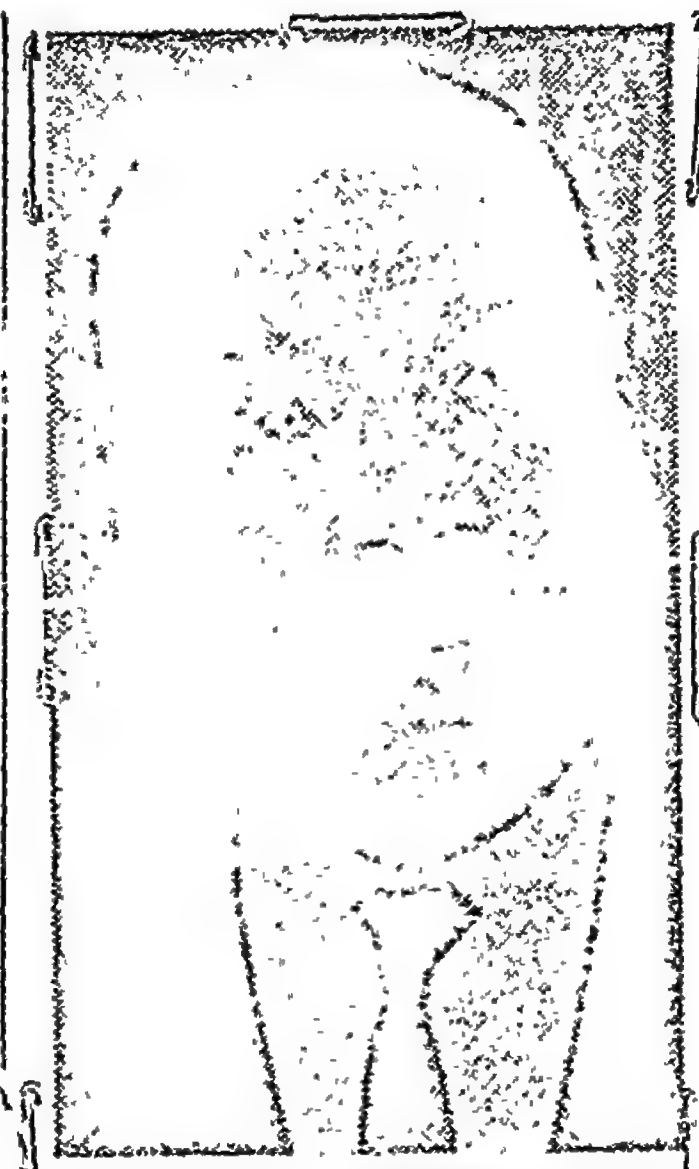
But, he added, "let me not leave you with a false impression. The problem is far from solved. We still have a long, long way to go in America before racial justice is a reality for the Negro."

He said southern churches and their leaders still practice segregation.

"It is appalling," he said, "that the most segregated hour of Christian America is 11 o'clock on Sunday morning, the same hour when many are standing to sing 'In Christ There is No East or West.'"

THE KING TRIBUTE and dinner at the hotel were sponsored by 134 prominent Atlanta business and civic leaders, including 4th and 5th District Congressmen James Mackay and Charles Weltner.

Other leaders praising Dr. King at the dinner Wednesday were Rabbi Jacob Rothschild of the Temple, Morehouse College President Benjamin Mays, state Sen. Leroy Johnson, AME Bishop Ernest Hickman, and Rev. Edward Driscoll, executive director of the Georgia Council of Churches.



DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING  
Honored at Dinner Here



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Atlantans pay King tribute

By BEN CHESTER  
Times Staff Writer

Singing "We Shall Overcome," more than 1,400 Atlantans paid unprecedented tribute Wednesday night to one of the world's most influential Negroes, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

The crowd, made up of what appeared to be more whites than Negroes, jammed the Dinkler Plaza Hotel ballroom to attend the event, described as Atlanta's largest racially mixed meeting in history.

No incidents marred the three-hour program given in recognition of King as recipient of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize.

The Atlanta integrationist leader, cited by Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. as a citizen "who is willing to turn the other cheek in his quest for full citizenship for all Americans," highlighted the banquet with a 45-minute talk, pledging greater efforts to obtain "racial justice."

King said the banquet and his Nobel Prize award in Oslo, Norway, were "mountaintop moments" which tempted him to retreat to a more "quiet and serene" life.

"But something within reminds me that the valley calls me in spite of all its agonies, dangers and frustrating moments," he said. "I must return to the valley."

King said the valley was "filled with misguided blood-thirsty mobs" and "at the same time with little Negro boys and girls who grow up with ominous clouds of inferiority forming in their little mental skies."

Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, member of a citizens' committee sponsoring the banquet, presented King and his wife, Coretta, with a Steuben bowl in recognition of his coveted Nobel Prize.

The costly gift was inscribed "with respect and admiration." A dogwood blossom was etched below the lettering.

King, a Baptist minister and long-recognized leader of Negro integration efforts throughout the country, is the first Georgian and third Negro ever to receive the Nobel Peace Prize.

The program for Dr. King drew dozens of local and national news media representatives and was broadcast live by ABC over 240 radio stations. It was also taped for rebroadcast over Voice of America stations overseas.

One veteran news photographer said, "I haven't seen so many flash bulbs popping and TV and newsreel cameras grinding away in many a year."

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY SP2AM/djc

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 3A  
The Atlanta Times,  
Atlanta, Georgia

Date: 1/28/65

Edition: Final

Author: BEN CHESTER

Editor: LUKE GREENE

Title: MARTIN LUTHER  
KING, JR.

Character: IS - C

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: Atlanta

☐ Being Investigated

NOT RECORDED

16 FEB 8 1965

FEB 9 1965

The Forsyth Street sidewalk in front of the Dinkler was packed with sightseers, policemen and cameramen as Dr. King's car arrived.

Except for newsmen and cameramen jostling one another, the only commotion occurred when Charlie Leb, an Atlanta restaurateur, kept waving an "invitation" to the dinner he claimed he had not asked for. He kept saying "Peace . . . Peace . . . Peace with violence! Peace! A lot of baloney!"

Leb, whose restaurant was the target for demonstrations by Negro and white integrationists last year, finally was accosted by a couple of city police officers, who took his arms and led him to one side of the throng.

Rabbi Rothchild, who presented the welcome for King at the head table, obviously expected more protests by outsiders. In applauding those in attendance, the rabbi said, "You are Atlantans; you and not the noisy rabble who gather now outside these doors."

Several plainclothes "security officers" stood quietly at strategic points around the banquet hall.

King, whose integrationist organization is called the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, told the audience the banquet was "quite a contrast" to his everyday life.

"A day seldom passes that my family and I are not the recipients of threats of death," he said.

A series of tributes was paid

King by head table guests: Mayor Allen; Bishop Ernest L. Hickman of the AME Church; Rev. Edward A. Driscoll, executive director of the Georgia Council of Churches; Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan of the Roman Catholic Church, and Negro Sen. Leroy Johnson of Fulton County.

Tributes included praise that King had proven the philosophy of "non-violent movement," that he has restored the Negro race "to its birthright," that he had "put every person in Atlanta" in his debt, that he had developed non-violence "from a tactic to the highest form of Christian love" and that "if any man knows the meaning of suffering, he knows."

A special representative of President Lyndon Johnson attended the banquet. He was identified as Hobart Taylor Jr., associate general counsel to the President.

★

Other head table guests included Atlanta Constitution publisher Ralph McGill, Vice Mayor and Mrs. Sam Massell Jr., Mrs. Rothschild, Mrs. Jordan, Mrs. King, Mrs. Driscoll and Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College where King was once a student.

Dr. Mays, who introduced King, said the Negro leader was a grandson of slaves and had gone a long way from Booker Washington High School in Atlanta to Oslo, Norway.

He said that King, in spite of having been jailed 29 times while leading integration attempts in the South, has "no bitterness in his heart."



Among notables attending but not seated at the head table were former DeKalb Commission Chairman C. O. Emmerich, who now heads the Johnson anti-poverty program in the Atlanta area, and former Mayor William B. Hartsfield Jr.

"We Shall Overcome," the integrationist theme song made popular by King, followed presentation of the Steuben bowl. The Morehouse College Glee Club led the singing.

Dr. King, interrupted frequently by applause, delivered his 16-page speech in a slow, deliberate style, pointing to Negro gains and opportunities as well as future problems the race can expect to face.

★

The "marvelous hometown welcome and honor" given him, King said, "will remain dear to me as long as the cords of memory shall lengthen. It will give me renewed vigor and courage to carry on."

The Nobel Prize winner said his award was not a tribute to him personally. "It was rather a tribute to all of the persons of good will in our nation, white and Negro, who have worked so courageously for a reign of justice and a rule of love," he said.

In discussing the struggle for equal rights, King said anyone sensitive to the "present mood, morals and trends in our nation must know that the time for racial justice has come."

"The issue is no longer whether segregation and discrimination will be eliminated but how they will pass from the American scene."

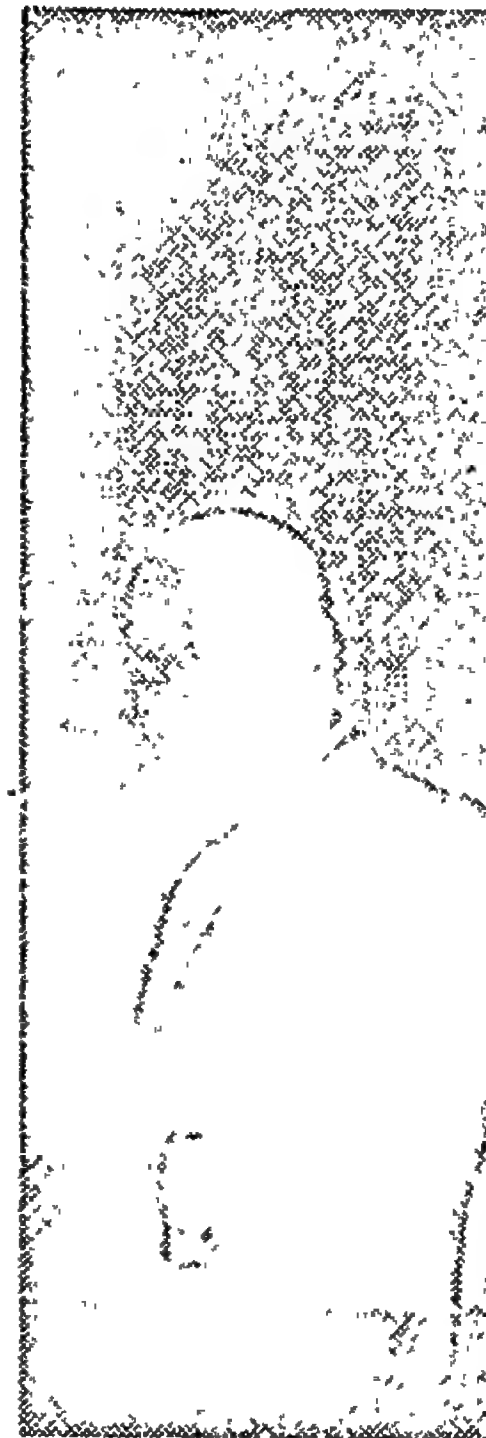
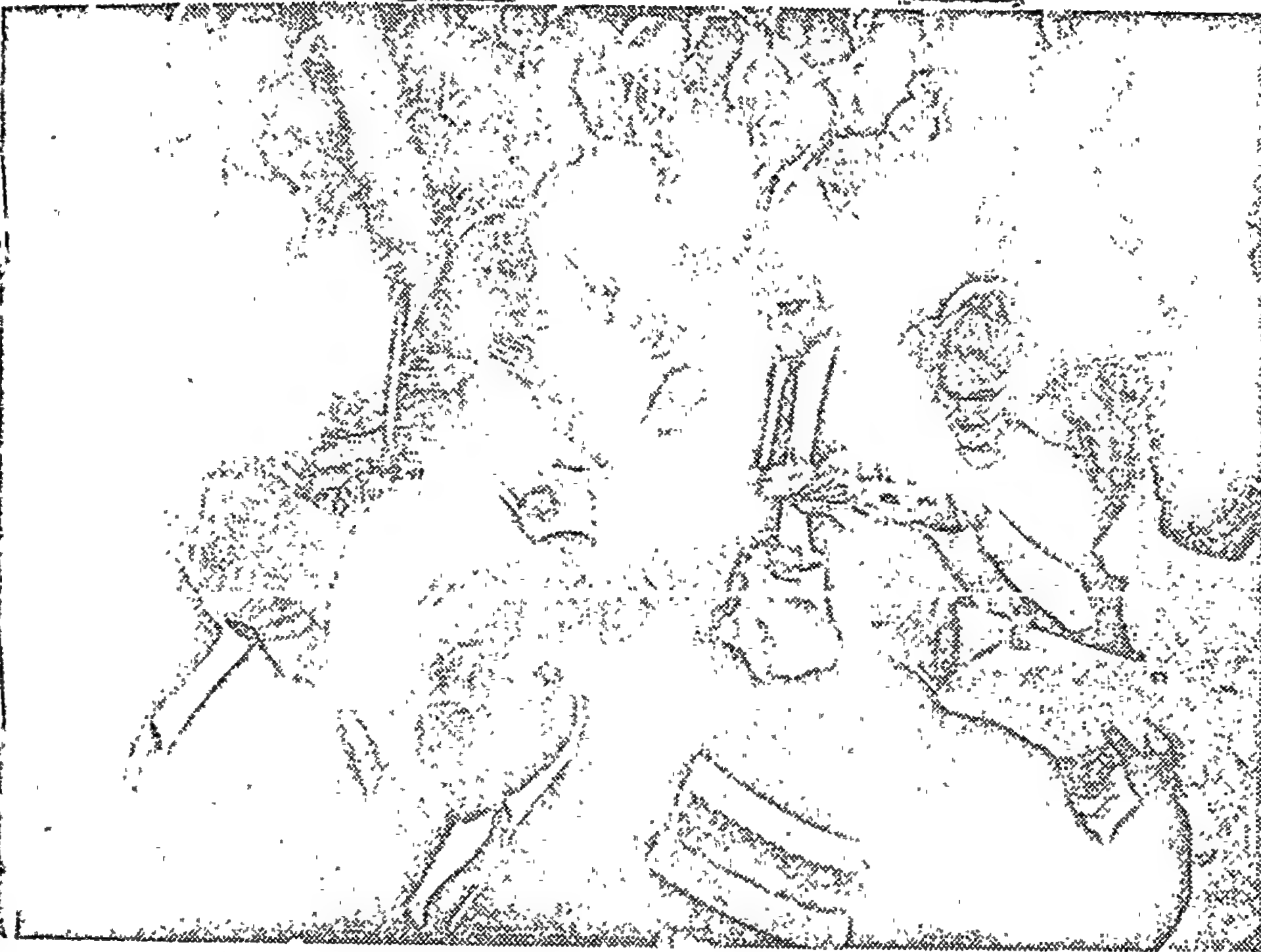
The Negro, King said, "is moving with a sense of great urgency toward the promised land of racial justice."

Pointing to the "bright interlude" of the 1964 civil rights bill, King said he had seen "encouraging and surprising" signs of compliance.

"I am happy to report," he said, that communities all over the South are obeying the civil rights law and showing remarkable good sense in the process."

King warned his listeners that a "frustrating and bewildering wilderness" is ahead of the Negro. "We must face prodigious hilltops of opposition and gigantic mountains of resistance," he said.

These areas, according to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference head, are projected by Negro "guilt feelings because of the legacy of slavery and segregation," and a white leadership in the hands of "close-minded extremists."



## Part in support is urged

"Diseases of the blood vessels lead to health causes in the personal tragedies and amount of economic loss inflicted upon the State of Georgia," Gov. Carl Sanders proclaimed February as Heart Month.

The Georgia Heart Association launches its annual Heart Drive Feb. 1, as a month-long national campaign of the American Heart Association, with which it is affiliated. Edgar J. Forio, association chairman, said the goal for Georgia has been set at \$640,000.

Left, diners at King dinner; right, King, Mrs. King. ★ Deaths in Georgia totaled 37,696. Of this 6,404, or 51.7 per cent





### *Police move Leb*

One sidewalk observer in front of the Dinkler Plaza Hotel when the Rev. Martin Luther King arrived was Charlie Leb, whose restaurants were a target of integrationists. Shouting "Peace! Peace!" Leb waved an invitation to the dinner which he said he

didn't want, saying, "It's pouring salt in the wounds." One of several Atlanta police officers on duty on the sidewalk took Leb by the arm and moved him away. (Times photo by Gary Witt)

# ATLANTA DINNER TO CITE DR. KING

Banquet on Wednesday Will  
Honor Negro Leader

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Jan. 23—A home-town banquet honoring the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., which provoked behind-the-scenes controversy in Atlanta business circles when it was proposed, has won overwhelming public endorsement.

A week after the tickets were offered principally through the mail, to about 2,000 people, whose names were chosen at random, more than 1,400 tickets had been sold and about 200 requests had been turned down because no seats remained.

The banquet, honoring Dr. King as Georgia's first winner of a Nobel Prize, is scheduled for 7:00 P.M., Wednesday, at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel.

Dr. King, who is a native of Atlanta, first attracted national attention when, as a minister in Montgomery, Ala., he led a bus boycott there. In 1961 he returned to Atlanta to assume direction of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and to become co-pastor of Ebenezer Baptist Church. In October he was named winner of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize.

After plans for the dinner were disclosed, just before Christmas, it appeared to have the sponsorship of a number of religious, educational and other Atlanta leaders. Opinions varied, however, among leading businessmen who had been asked to be sponsors.

A spokesman for the planning group said today, however, that although a number of them had declined the use of their names as sponsors many had purchased the \$6.50 tickets to attend. He said that top executives of almost every lead-

ing downtown financial and business institution had done so.

Although the public was aware of plans for the dinner, there was no push to sell tickets except through the use of mailing lists obtained from several cultural and civic organizations. Response was immediate.

The banquet planners had hoped to sell about 1,000 tickets. Although the banquet hall ordinarily seats only about 1,200 people, plans are being made for as many as 1,400 places. Checks for tickets continue to come in but are being rejected.

"We are absolutely delighted with the way it has worked out," said Don McEvoy, Georgia executive director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Mr. McEvoy, who is coordinating arrangements for the dinner, said that 101 Atlanta citizens had agreed to serve as sponsors of the event. About three-fourths of these are white, he said. He estimated that at least 800 of the 1400 ticket purchasers are white.

Political Leaders Listed

The sponsors' list includes many of the city's most prominent people, with a stronger representation of political leaders than some observers had expected.

Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. and

William B. Hartsfield, a former Mayor, on the list.

So are Representatives Charles L. Weltner of Georgia's Fifth District, which includes most of Atlanta, and James A. Mackay of the Fourth District, which includes part of the city and a large suburban area. Both are Democrats.

The list also includes Vice Mayor Sam Massell Jr., a Democrat; two city aldermen, Rodney Cook and Richard Freeman, both Republicans, and Mrs. G. Ray Mitchell, a member of the Atlanta Board of Education. All are white.

No state-level political figures are among the sponsors, although the list includes two Negro state senators from Atlanta, Leroy Johnson and Horace T. Ward.

Plans for the dinner were revealed when letters went to prospective sponsors for the Most Rev. Paul J. Hallinan, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Atlanta; Ralph McGill, publisher of The Atlanta Constitution; Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College; and Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild, of The Temple.

Those arranging the dinner rejected the idea of having a major national figure as the guest speaker, since they wanted to retain a strong home-town emphasis.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/02 BY SPAN/MLJ

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Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
The New York Times 37  
The Baltimore Sun \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
Date \_\_\_\_\_

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

## 1,000 to Attend Nobel Dinner For Rev. King

Plans for the Nobel Peace Prize dinner honoring Dr. Martin Luther-King Jr. were announced Tuesday by the committee on arrangements.

The dinner will be held Jan. 27 at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel at 7 p.m. The public is invited. There will be space for 1,000 guests.

Tickets are \$6.50 and checks should be made out to Nobel Prize Dinner and sent to 1000 First Federal Building, or to the office of the president, Dr. Benjamin Mays, Morehouse College, 223 Chestnut St., SW.

Eighty-six leading Atlanta citizens have accepted sponsorship and others have accepted since the list was closed. The list includes college presidents, lawyers, ministers and other professional men.

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DATE 10/16/00 BY SP2ALM/eh

Page 14  
The Atlanta  
Constitution,  
Atlanta, Georgia

Date: 1/13/65

Edition: Morning

Author:

Editor: EUGENE PATTERSON

Title: CIRM

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: Atlanta

☒ Being Investigated

NOT RECORDED

176 JAN 26 1965



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Banquet for King Sows Controversy Among Atlantans

ATLANTA — (AP) — Some disagreement was reported among Atlanta business and civic leaders Tuesday over plans for a banquet honoring Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. for winning the Nobel Peace prize.

The Negro integration leader and president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference declined comment at his Atlanta home.

Informed sources said letters were sent out to about 125 persons several days before Christmas asking them to act as sponsors for a banquet Jan. 27 at the Dinkler Plaza Hotel.

These sources said a substantial number accepted but some persons declined and others failed to reply.

Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. said that he would "extend all courtesy, consideration and cooperation in recognizing King." But, he added, "I'm not involved in any controversy."

"I have publicly congratulated King," he said, "and I think the great majority of our business leaders would agree with that."

But Robert Sommerville, president of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, said there is a strong feeling about the banquet among some business leaders.

On my own feeling that comes from the Scripture he said. "Some people are bitter about it."

Sommerville said he favored hometown recognition for a man who receives a national or international

The union charged that all but six of the Negro employees were being paid less than white employees, and that this was discriminatory. A company official denied there was any discrimination. Negotiations have broken down, but the company has continued to operate.

Former Mayor William B. Hartsfield acknowledged that he received one of the invitations to act as a sponsor and said he expected to attend the banquet.

"Frankly I want to see my city maintain its good record of racial tolerance and understanding," he said. "I don't want to see Atlanta pointed out as a place where the Nobel Prize winner was snubbed in his home city."

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

28A

The MIAMI HERALD

Miami, Florida

Date: 12/30/64

Edition:

Author:

Editor:

Title:

MARTIN LUTHER KING  
Info Concerning

Character:

or

Classification:

Submitting Office: Miami

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY SP2/AM/ldj

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File  
100-106670

SSC LETTER 7/8/75  
ITEM # 19

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DATE 10/16/02 BY SP2ALM/ely

*Return*



1 - Mr. Ryan  
1 - Mr. Phillips

SAC, Atlanta (100-6520)

July 23, 1964

PERSONAL ATTENTION

Director, FBI (100-3-116)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY SP2ALM/ehj

Reurlet 7/7/64 which proposed some counterintel-  
ligence possibilities for exploration in connection with  
captioned matter.

It was suggested that there be an anonymous mailing  
made of the 6/19/64 issue of "The Herald" to Bill Shipp,  
State News Editor of the "Atlanta Constitution." This is  
the issue which contains a photograph of Martin Luther King,  
Jr., and Reverend Ralph Abernathy with an accompanying  
article alleging immoral conduct on the part of these two  
individuals. The thought is to lead Shipp to this item so  
that he might further explore it and possibly cause inquiries  
along lines which will prove embarrassing to King and the  
Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). By separate  
correspondence your office has been directed to furnish the  
Bureau available information concerning the alleged escapades  
of Abernathy, including the obtaining of official court  
records. The Bureau, therefore, believes that action to  
alert Shipp to "The Herald" article should be held in abey-  
ance until such time as the Bureau has received all available  
factual data. At that time a judgment will be made as to  
whether or not your suggestion should be carried out.

Another suggestion concerns Ed Clayton, the Public  
Relations Director for the SCLC. It is noted that he had  
recently been on a "drunk" and was unable to perform his  
duties. It was anticipated that he would be dismissed by  
King in the near future and that at that time it is believed  
that Clayton could be "bought" by a news writer for "real  
insight" on the background of the SCLC and its operation.  
It was therefore suggested that Shipp be directed to Clayton  
for such information as would give Shipp good ammunition for  
an exposure of the SCLC. It is suggested that in connection

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
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Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
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Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SFP:kmj  
(5)

REC 14

EX 110

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JUL 31 1964

MAIL ROOM ☒

TELETYPE UNIT ☐



Letter to Atlanta

RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

NEGRO QUESTION

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

100-3-116

with this idea you carefully watch the situation relating to Clayton's employment and personal shortcomings. Should Clayton, in fact, be dismissed by King and there are evidences of discord, resubmit the suggestion setting forth the specific manner in which you intend to steer Shipp to Clayton.

In connection with the "hideaway" used by King which is an apartment of his associate, Fred Bennett, you should continue to be extremely alert to information indicating a change in the location and if a change is not made in the near future, consider the possibility of installing some type of sensitive coverage. The frequency of use of this "hideaway" should, of course, be an important factor to consider.

The Bureau appreciates the thought and effort being expended by your office in connection with counter-intelligence possibilities relative to instant matter and at all times will welcome any additional ideas your office may desire to propound.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/02 BY SP8AM/ky

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-116)

7/7/64

(PERSONAL ATTENTION: ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

SAC, ATLANTA  
(100-6520-D)

W. C. SULLIVAN OR INSPECTOR  
JOSEPH SIZOO, DOMESTIC  
INTELLIGENCE DIVISION)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
IS-C

ReBulet dated 6/9/64, captioned as above, which letter requested specific suggestions as to the possible utilization of BILL SHIPP, State News Editor of "The Atlanta Constitution" either directly or through anonymous contact.

As was pointed out in Atlanta's letter of analysis and evaluation dated 4/14/64, SHIPP has written several articles unfavorable to Dr. KING, the SCLC and the lack of progress made toward reconstruction of the three burned Negro churches. With the completion and dedication of the rebuilt three Negro churches on Sunday 6/27/64, the immediate willingness of SHIPP to explore or write on the activities of SCLC and/or KING is unknown to the Atlanta Office. With the dedication of these rebuilt churches the one main theme of grievance and basis of criticism has been removed.

The basis for other critical articles has been the SCLC's position and that of Dr. KING relating to the employment of HUNTER PITTS O'DELL. As the Bureau is aware, this employment of O'DELL has long since been terminated.

Examples of the type of information that may have been exploited in recent past by furnishing to SHIPP either anonymously or in normal contact and may have resulted in a news item or at least personal embarrassment or harassment include the following:

(1) Sources on 6/23/64 advised of a conversation between KING and WYATT WALKER in New York City wherein KING was rather frantic because the contractor who rebuilt the three churches in South Georgia had threatened that if complete payment for the construction had not been received by 6/26/64 he would file a lien against the three structures.

2- Bureau (Personal Attention) (RM)  
2- Atlanta (1- 100-6520-D)  
(1- 100-6621) (Counterintelligence Activities)

AFM/elt  
(4)

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AT 100-6520-D  
AFM/elt

KING was specific in stating he did not want this information to get out to the Press. (Obviously a reference to BILL SHIPP and critical articles he has written.)

(2) Sources in April of 1964 reported the financial condition of SCLC as being critical. In specific, they indicated a debt to a local printer of approximately \$50,000.

SHIPP's personal inquiry of this printer as to whether he was going to file a suit against KING and/or the SCLC or place them in involuntary bankruptcy might logically have resulted in unfavorable publicity, embarrassment and may have curtailed future credit extended to the SCLC for its operations.

Obviously the opportunities to exploit these two incidents are past. As can be seen in the first instance there existed only two or three days from the date of receipt of the information as to the threat of a lien against these churches which did not afford ample time to formulate a policy and implement it.

At this time it is suggested that anonymously a copy of July 19, 1964 "The Herald" Vol. 6, No. 38 be furnished to BILL SHIPP. It is noted that this publication described as South Carolina's oldest Negro newspaper and printed ostensibly at Anderson, South Carolina, carries a photograph of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and Reverend RALPH ABERNATHY, Treasurer of SCLC, along with headlines to the effect that KING takes girl to San Juan and ABERNATHY seduces girl 15. The story accompanying sets forth court testimony given in the Circuit Court of Montgomery County, Alabama, as to ABERNATHY's normal and abnormal sex relations with a 15 year old girl in August, 1952. The article further indicated that this same girl was the person accompanying KING to San Juan.



AT 100-6520-D  
AFM/elt

It is not believed that SHIPP can write any kind of news article on this but will serve to alert him as to future possible news articles. In addition it would undoubtedly cause inquiries to be made along these lines which would prove embarrassing to KING and SCLC.

A copy of this publication has previously been furnished to the Bureau on 6/26/64.

Another possible course of action would be to openly and through personal contact steer SHIPP or other writers to ED CLAYTON, a former writer for "Jet" magazine and public relations director of SCLC. CLAYTON for the past two or three weeks has been on a "drunk" and is unable to perform his duties. It is anticipated he will be dismissed by KING in the near future. At that time it is believed that CLAYTON can be bought by a news writer for "real insight" on background of SCLC and its operation.

The Mobile Office by Airtel dated 6/15/64 identified the previously unknown Catholic Priest as Father ALBERT S. FOLEY, Head of Sociology Department, Spring Hill College, Mobile, Alabama, and Chairman of the Alabama Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission.

1. From The Mobile Register, Mobile, Alabama, 5/4/63, captioned "Foley Hits Racial Strife". In this article, Father FOLEY said that MARTIN LUTHER KING, had agreed to call off demonstrations in Birmingham, but then changed his mind without notice, and that a member of the SCLC told him, FOLEY, that the SCLC's treasury was nearly depleted, and the demonstrations were needed to spark contributions.

2. From The Mobile Register, 5/6/63, captioned "Foley Charge as to King is Criticized." In this article Bishop W. M. SMITH of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, Mobile, took issue with Father FOLEY.

3. From The Mobile Press, 5/6/63, captioned "King Fires at Foley." In this article, MARTIN LUTHER KING said he would have direct communication with Washington asking for the resignation of Father FOLEY from the Alabama Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. KING denied Father FOLEY's charge.

AT 100-6520-D  
AFM/elt

It is noted that The Mobile Press and The Mobile Register are daily newspapers published at Mobile, Alabama.

For your added information, Father FOLEY has been very active in integration matters, and has worked closely with Negroes in promoting integration. He is still, according to news sources, Chairman of the Alabama Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission.

It is noted that State News Editor SHIPP undoubtedly has these news items in the "morgue" files of "The Atlanta Constitution" and could easily identify this Catholic priest if he does any research on the SCLC organization as such.

Consideration is being given to the interview of Father FOLEY. Efforts will be made to fully develop information regarding him at which time by separate communication Bureau authority for interview by Agents of the Mobile Office with justification for such interview will be submitted by Atlanta. Appropriate discretionary cautions have been given Mobile and will be made to other offices when and if leads are set forth in this investigative matter.

The Atlanta Office is endeavoring through its sources to ascertain further plans of KING and BENNETT as to the possible relocation of the hideaway. Sources have indicated that during the past three weeks KING has only been at the "hideaway" on one occasion. If it appears continued occupancy will remain and greater utilization will be made by KING of this apartment, consideration will be given to some type of sensitive coverage.

- 4 -



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-116)

DATE: JUN 17 1964

FROM :

SAC, NEW YORK (100-15148)

SUBJECT:

CP, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
IS-C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY SP2AM/edj

(OO: New York)

ReNYlet to Bureau, 6/2/64.

On 6/8/64, Mr. GEORGE MILLNER, Assistant Manager, Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company, 741 Fifth Avenue, NYC. (Conceal) who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available to SA ANTHONY E. CONSTANTINO, on a confidential basis, bank records concerning the account of MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.

A review of the records reflected no activities for the preceeding month, and the balance as of 6/3/64 was \$2,136.88.

The above information is not to be made public except in a usual proceeding following the issuance of a subpoena. The officer to be subpoenaed is Mr. WILLIAM FABRY, Assistant Vice-President of the bank.

- 2-Bureau (RM)
- 2-Atlanta (100-6520-A)(CP, USA, NEGRO QUESTION)(INFO)(RM)  
(1-100-5586)(MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.)
- 1-New York (100-136585)(MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.)(#42)
- 1-New York

JCS:dmb  
(6)

EX-106

REC-134

JUN 23 1964

JUN 18 1964

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



1 - Mr. Ryan  
1 - Mr. Rosack  
1 - Mr. Phillips

SAC, Atlanta (100-6520)

June 9, 1964

Director, FBI (100-3-116)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY SP2AM/ely

Reurlet April 14, 1964, which set out an analysis and evaluation of progress being made in investigation relative to captioned matter as well as suggestions for exploring new avenues of investigation.

It was stated that Bill Shipp, State News Editor, "Atlanta Constitution," has been making inquiry in the Albany, Georgia, area regarding the reconstruction of the three Negro churches burned in that area during the Summer of 1962. Shipp has in the past written unfavorable articles regarding Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). He has also written regarding civil rights groups having within their ranks subversive sympathizers. Your office suggested giving consideration to furnishing Shipp on an anonymous basis certain specific leads where he may develop the necessary data so that he may further write critical stories. As an example of the type of information considered, you noted that a Catholic priest from south Alabama, name unknown to your office but possibly known to the Mobile Office, had publicly denounced the SCLC after several years' affiliation with that group based upon the priest's experiences and knowledge of the financial dealings of the SCLC.

EX-113 REC-47 1517

The Bureau believes that this general suggestion merits further consideration with the exception of possibly leading Shipp to the Catholic priest. The Bureau will entertain any recommendations you may desire to make relative to specific information which may be furnished to Shipp including suggestions as to how it should be furnished to him.

As to the Catholic priest, you are instructed to correspond with the Mobile Office and set out any other leads necessary to identify the priest and give consideration to an

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

SFP:pwd  
(6)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Letter to Atlanta  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
100-3-116

interview of him. The interview should not be conducted without prior Bureau authority. Your recommendation for such interview should contain full available information concerning the individual and full justification for the interview. Insure that any other offices covering leads in this matter are especially cautioned relative to the absolute necessity for discretion.

Relet furnished an analysis of known information concerning King's Atlanta "hide-away" (the apartment of his associate Fred Bennett). Follow closely the considerations of King and Bennett toward obtaining another apartment to replace the present "hide-away." If another apartment is obtained, give close consideration to the development of sensitive-type coverage. In the event a change in apartments does not take place within a reasonable period of time, give further consideration to the effecting of sensitive-type coverage in the current apartment.

By a separate letter to the New York Office, a copy of which was furnished to your office, instructions were issued looking toward the possible location of a personal bank account of King in New York City.

The matters dealt with herein are to be handled on a need-to-know basis in your office.



DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-116)

6/2/64

SAC, NEW YORK (100-151548)

CPUSA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
IS - C.

Re Bulet to NY, 5/21/64.

*Confidential source*  
On 5/26/64, Mr. GEORGE MILLNER, Assistant Manager, Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company, 5th Ave. and 57th St., NYC, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised SA ANTHONY F. CONSTANTINO, that a regular checking account of MARTIN L. and CORETTA S. KING, Atlanta, Georgia, is located at that bank.

Arrangements were made with Mr. MILLNER to monitor this account on a monthly basis. It was pointed out that only Mr. MILLNER and Mr. JOSEPH CURRY, Assistant Secretary, who has furnished reliable information in the past, would be aware of or have knowledge of the FBI interest in this account. Every effort would be made to prevent other employees from gaining access to this information.

A statement along with any cancelled checks would be made available on the sixth workday of every month.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/16/00 BY SP2ALM/dj

2-Bureau (RM)  
2-Atlantic (100-6520-A) (CPUSA, NEGRO QUESTION)  
(INFO) (RM)  
(1- 100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)  
2-New York  
(1- 100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (42)

JCS:tms  
(6)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.



1 - Mr. Forsyth

1 - Mr. Rosack

1 - Mr. Ryan

1 - Mr. Phillips

SAC, New York (100-151548)

May 21, 1964

Director, FBI (100-3-110)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

NEGRO QUESTION

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY SP2ALM/edj

Re Atlanta letter April 14, 1964, copy to New York, which set out an analysis and evaluation of the progress which is being made in the investigation of captioned matter as well as suggestions toward exploring new avenues of investigation. On page nine it was noted that Martin Luther King, Jr., has a personal bank account in New York City but that the name of the bank is unknown.

Reurlet April 23, 1964, copy to Atlanta, which reported that an account in the name of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which King heads, had been maintained at the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company, New York City, but such account had been closed on January 18, 1964.

Noting that certain strong factors set out in re Atlanta letter mitigate against any possible audit of King's personal account in an Atlanta, Georgia, bank, the Bureau believes that more than ever it would be most desirable to identify any bank where he may have an account in New York City and, thereafter, consider an audit of such account. New York is, therefore, instructed to give full consideration to a canvass of banks in New York City in an effort to locate any account in King's name. Such inquiry must, of course, be extremely discreet and conducted through only established reliable sources. Such canvass may be undertaken immediately unless you have reasons for not doing so, in which event the matter should be taken up with the Bureau.

1 - Atlanta (100-6520) (PERSONAL ATTENTION)

1 - Bufile 100-106670 (Martin Luther King, Jr.)

SFP:pwd (9)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

SAC, Atlanta (100-6520)

4  
4/23/64

Director, FBI (100-3-116)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

(1) - Mr. Phillips

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

NEGRO QUESTION

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTER S

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/82 BY SP2AM/ely

Reference is made to letters from your office and New York 4/14/64, which set out analyses and evaluation of progress which is being made in investigation relative to captioned matter. These letters were in reply to solicitation made of receiving offices with a view toward suggesting new avenues of investigation and intensification in areas already being explored.

The purpose of instant communication is to express the Bureau's gratitude for the analysis submitted by Atlanta which included several suggestions for exploring new areas. The Bureau believes that some of Atlanta's ideas are extremely worthwhile and represent a studied effort combined with an aggressive imagination looking toward more and better ways of meeting the problems involved in captioned investigation.

The specific matters dealt with in Atlanta's letter will be the subject of separate correspondence with that office. You are instructed to place a copy of this letter of approbation in the personnel files of the Atlanta Agents responsible for the excellent analysis and decisive, imaginative suggestions.

1 - New York (100-151548)

SFP:fnh

(5)

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*



SAC, New York (100-151548)

April 24, 1964

Director, FBI (100-3-116)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
(Field Supervision)  
1 - Mr. Floyd  
1 - Mr. Phillips

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/16/00 BY SP2AKM/ely

ReNYlet 4/14/64, copy to Atlanta, which set out an analysis and evaluation of the New York Office's aspects of captioned investigation along with certain recommendations relative to future investigative activity in this matter. Relet was in response to a solicitation made of receiving offices by Bulet 4/1/64.

Instant communication is for the purpose of commenting upon New York's analysis concerning Bayard Rustin, an individual concerning whom New York is origin and who is a key figure in the racial movement today.

It is stated in referenced New York letter "Although Rustin contacted Davis, it is not believed that he is in contact with other CP leaders, or that he is sympathetic to the CP cause." This appears to be a conclusion of the New York Office which could dictate the course of investigation relating to Rustin as well as Rustin's involvement in captioned matter. The Bureau, therefore, desires to make a number of observations to insure that there is no de-emphasis of our interest in Rustin and that he is properly evaluated in light of all we know about him. Just prior to the above quoted portion of referenced New York letter, it is stated that there has not been any indication that Rustin has contacted any Party leaders except Benjamin J. Davis and that Rustin asked Davis' advisers to how he could escape from speaking at a rally sponsored by the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba. It is elsewhere stated in referenced New York letter that in the recent past Davis was in contact with Rustin. As you are aware, Davis is a high Party functionary and Chairman of the National Negro Commission of the Party. The fact that he is an important

1 - Atlanta (100-6520)

1 - 100-153790 (Bayard Rustin)

SFP:chs (8)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



Letter to New York  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

figure in the Party is undoubtedly known to Rustin and the fact that Rustin would seek Davis' advice is believed to be of prime significance.

The Bureau does not agree with the expressed belief of the New York Office that Rustin is not sympathetic to the Party cause. While there may not be any direct evidence that Rustin is a communist neither is there any substantial evidence that he is anticommunist. Relet pointed out, in substantiation of the belief that Rustin is not sympathetic to the Party cause, that he, as late as 4/9/64, in addressing a meeting at Nyack, New York, said he was opposed to the communist movement. This the Bureau takes as a self serving statement on the part of Rustin and it is understandable that he would make such a public statement, even without regard to his true beliefs, in light of the recent adverse publicity he received, particularly in New York City newspapers, for his involvement in the public school boycott in New York City earlier this year and subsequent exposure of his contact with the Soviet mission to the United Nations.

It is also desired to call your attention to the portion of relet dealing with your office's coverage in connection with captioned matter. It is stated at the top of page 2 of relet "It is felt that this coverage is adequate..." In light of the extreme importance which the Bureau has attached to instant matter and the ever increasing importance of the racial and civil rights issues on the national scene, the Bureau cannot adjudge as adequate any coverage which does not positively provide to the Bureau 100 per cent of the intelligence relating to the communist influence in racial matters. Obviously we are not securing all the information that is pertinent and needs to be secured. Our coverage, therefore, is not deemed as adequate.

The matters discussed above are being pointedly brought to your attention to insure that there is no de-emphasis in the investigation concerning Rustin and that there is no stone being left unturned in your efforts to increase coverage in this area both as to quality or quantity. The Bureau expects that you will give this matter your closest personal attention to insure the necessary attention is being given by Agent and supervisory personnel.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-116)

4/14/64

(PERSONAL ATTENTION:

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR W. C. SULLIVAN

JUNE

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION)

SAC, ATLANTA (100-6520-D)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 10/16/10 BY SP2AM/ely

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

NEGRO QUESTION

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

IS-C

Reference is made to Bureau letter dated 4/1/64 which requested a reappraisal of the investigative efforts based on the past 90 days experience.

The following analysis in Atlanta is based on information furnished from various confidential sources and a review of files in conjunction therewith. It is pointed out that this office is not fully cognizant of all investigative endeavors and results therefrom that have transpired in this investigation to date, particularly as it relates to investigation conducted by auxiliary offices and their use of certain confidential investigative techniques.

In the analysis of this investigation it should further be borne in mind MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., is so closely related to the organization Southern Christian Leadership Conference which he founded that they are considered synonymous in reality. During January, 1964, KING in certain of his conversations had mentioned this very fact, his realization of this condition and that he was going to endeavor to elevate the character and picture of Southern Christian Leadership Conference as an organization rather than subvert Southern Christian Leadership Conference to his own personal name and esteem.

2- Bureau (100-3-116) (Personal Attention: Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan, Domestic Intelligence Division) (REGISTERED MAIL)

2- New York (100-151548) (Personal Attention: ASAC Donald E. Roney) (REGISTERED MAIL)

2- Atlanta (100-6520-D)

AFM:elt

(6)

*This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.*



AT 100-6520-D  
AFM:elt

A. Utilization of an Anonymous Source

Based on information made available and evaluation of same, consideration has been given to the utilization of an anonymous source; however, it is noted that on one occasion it was reported that STANLEY D. LEVISON had apparently provided \$500 in funds to be utilized for "night watchman purposes." It is further noted there are approximately 40 employees at this time in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference Office, whose hours of employment are most irregular and include weekends on occasions. It is considered that a physical surveillance of all employees of Southern Christian Leadership Conference for such an anonymous source development could not be conducted with sufficient discreetness to insure the success of this type operation. It is further noted that the building which houses the offices of Southern Christian Leadership Conference is also occupied by a Negro Radio Station which has most irregular hours for its employees. Another portion of the building is occupied and utilized for Lodge purposes and there is considerable traffic in and out of the building at unusual or irregular hours. This office space is located in an exclusively Negro neighborhood for approximately one mile in radius except for the downtown business district.

From the above the security problems are obvious; however, there is room to explore this further and our investigation will be designed to determine any weakness which we can exploit to our advantage.

B. Further Use of News Media

Sources have recently reported certain displeasures on the part of KING relating to statements attributed to ROY WILKINS, Head of the NAACP, which displeasures were resultant of statements made by WILKINS in regard to the Civil Rights Bill presently in Congress. KING indicated he was tired of WILKINS making these statements which in effect carried KING's concurrence when in fact KING had not been consulted.

AT 100-6520-D  
AFM:elt

It is recommended that both the New York and Atlanta Office remain particularly alert for any further indications of a rift possibly developing between WILKINS and KING so that full utilization may be made of this incident.

If information is developed confirming such a disagreement a possible course of action may include the use of RALPH MCGILL, Publisher of the "Atlanta Constitution" in order to explore the basis of such disagreement and also to feed pertinent subversive connections and dealings of KING to WILKINS. It is unknown to Atlanta whether MCGILL is personally acquainted with WILKINS but it is known that MCGILL has been most cooperative with the Atlanta Office of the FBI and the Bureau and if he is acquainted with WILKINS, this could be considered.

It is further suggested the Bureau, through its respective auxiliary offices, may desire to discreetly furnish information to reliable news individuals who could report by story and photograph items which would show KING's high living and exorbitant spending. In this regard, it is noted that since February, KING has been in San Juan, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Los Angeles, residing in the Hyatt House at \$75 per day and again in Nassau, BWI, under an assumed name. While it is realized that certain newspaper publicity might be favorable to KING it is believed that certain articles reporting this high living would have a distinct advantage of causing many Negro supporters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to lose faith in this organization, its leader and their endeavors and hence discontinue their support through the contribution of funds. It is realized that the bulk of the financial support comes from the white community but Negroes provide the numerical majority and support for demonstrations in the street.

Information has come to the attention of the Atlanta Office recently that BILL SHIPP, State News Editor for the "Atlanta Constitution" has been making inquiry in the Albany, Georgia, area regarding the reconstruction of the three Negro churches burned in that area during the



AT 100-6520-D

AFM:elt

summer of 1962. SHIPP has in the past written unfavorable articles regarding KING and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference as it relates to the employment of HUNTER PITTS O'DELL. He has also written regarding Civil Rights groups who have within their rank subversive sympathizers. Other articles authored by SHIPP have related to the delay in the reconstruction of these destroyed churches and he has also been critical of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference for its failure to make public records as to its financial affairs.

It is noted that funds, for the reconstruction of three Negro churches in the Albany area, were obtained through public solicitations initiated by the "Atlanta Constitution" and other organizations in Atlanta. The SCLC also solicited funds for this project and in so doing used the volunteer services of JACKIE ROBINSON to collect approximately \$65,000 throughout the U.S. SCLC in turn was in charge of the funds collected for this project and responsible for the disbursing of these funds to the contractors building the churches. It is further pointed out that the delay in the reconstruction of these churches has been primarily a result of the contractor not receiving funds from Southern Christian Leadership Conference on a periodic basis for the completion of these churches. It is suggested that the Bureau may desire to furnish to SHIPP on an anonymous basis, certain specific leads where he may develop the necessary data so that he may further write critical news stories which would be based on information obtained by him rather than by this agency. An example of this type of information would include furnishing the name and address of a Catholic priest from South Alabama, whose name is unknown to the Atlanta Office but possibly known to the Mobile Office, who after several years affiliation with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference publically denounced this organization based on his experiences and knowledge of their financial dealings. This priest attributed to an SCLC Official a statement that they needed to have a demonstration in order to raise money. This was just prior to a large scale demonstration held in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963.

AT 100-6520-D

AFM:elt

C. Background Investigation of Southern Christian Leadership Conference Employees

The Atlanta Office currently is maintaining separate files on all SCLC employees and is in the process of discreetly investigating the background of twelve key employees and associates in an effort to obtain some weakness that could be used for counter-intelligence activities. To date no pertinent data has been developed on these individuals which is recognized as an opportunity for counter-intelligence purposes with the exception of KING's girl friends' activities. Recommendations will be forthcoming if and when weaknesses are developed.

D. Disgruntled Employees

It is to be noted that Atlanta sources have disclosed recently that RUTH BAILEY, an employee of the New York office of SCLC, was discharged. She contacted an employee of the Atlanta Office of SCLC and showed her displeasure because her discharge date was prior to the notification date. In showing this displeasure she brought out that STANLEY LEVISON was in some way undesirable and that KING had been warned by unknown individuals about associating with him. Sources advised, however, that upon reconsideration SCLC retained the services of BAILEY. Atlanta suggests this matter be followed closely both in New York and in Atlanta and if the opportunity presents itself to exploit BAILEY's discontent. At this time, however, it is felt that because BAILEY was rehired that the time for appraising her should be delayed.

Sources further reported a certain trend of discontent and dissatisfaction on the part of employees in the Atlanta Office of SCLC based over preferential pay to individuals performing the same duties. This discontent has been temporarily alleviated by recent pay increases made to all employees.



AT 100-6520-D  
AFM:elt

It is suggested that this area may present opportunities in the future from a counter-intelligence standpoint by the injection of false information with certain discontented employees such as EDWINA SMITH, the fiancée of HUNTER PITTS O'DELL.

E. Financial Dealings of KING and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Analysis of recently received tax returns through 1962 and Internal Revenue Service investigation of KING and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference for the years 1957, 1958 and 1959, reflects that the main question of contention was the status of money received by Southern Christian Leadership Conference. KING's contention was that these receipts were gifts, while Internal Revenue contends that income from business operations, namely SCLC, was in reality income.

Atlanta sources have recently reported that the Atlanta Retail Credit Company was furnished details to the effect that SCLC had received \$750,000 during 1963. Sources have also advised that one "WILLIE" RICHARDSON, Internal Revenue Service employee, was making a current income investigation regarding the Southern Christian Leadership Conference or one of their employees. Sources at Internal Revenue Service report that WILLIE RICHARDSON is the only Negro Internal Revenue Agent of the Atlanta Regional Office and has been so employed for approximately one year.

It is pointed out that KING has authored several books and it is believed that funds received from this authorship are the funds most difficult to report as gifts as KING's contention has been in the past, rather than as income.

From the return it is apparent that SCLC is classified as a tax-exempt organization; however, contributions to it are not allowable by the donor as a tax deductible contribution to a charity organization. SCLC is considered

AT 100-6520-D  
AFM:elt

a tax-exempt civil organization. It is noted that in order to obtain this tax-exempt status, a petition must be filed by the organization with Internal Revenue Service, a copy of the organization's charter, By Laws, financial statements and a list of sizeable contributors to this organization is also filed.

It is suggested that the Bureau may desire to obtain through liaison further data available regarding SCLC and the basis of any current investigation being conducted on MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., or SCLC.

It is felt the list of contributors of sizeable gifts to SCLC may be important as with future information it may be possible to compare whether KING is recording all of his contributions as gifts or whether in fact, there is a discrepancy in the amount donated to SCLC and the amount KING reports as gifts. If such a discrepancy does exist it is likely KING is utilizing these funds for his own personal affairs.

It is believed that through various past incidents as reported by Atlanta sources a trend can be established to show collusion on the part of donors who are making contribution to SCLC by various and devious means. Points in contention in this regard relate to a sizeable contribution of funds collected at a benefit held in California by SAMMY DAVIS, JR., the entertainer. It was proposed that these funds be made payable to a church in California. These funds were then forwarded by the church in California to Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, and thence to SCLC, or MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. personally.

Another point in contention relates to the recent gift by an unknown automobile dealer through a Reverend RICHARD BATTLES, Hartford, Connecticut, who contributed 12 automobiles to the SCLC for their use. Atlanta sources reported that this dealer was interested in establishing a capital loss in his business operations and was utilizing the gift of the vehicles in so doing. In order to establish



AT 100-6520-D  
AFM:elt

this capital loss and as well claim a contribution, the vehicles were actually given to the West Hunter Baptist Church, the Ebenezer Baptist Church and to the United Church of Christ, Decatur, Georgia, all of which vehicles were to be made available to the SCLC.

It is further pointed out that Atlanta sources advised that SCLC is currently short on funds and is known to owe Darby Printing Company, Atlanta, approximately \$12,000.

It is believed that donors and creditors of SCLC present two important areas for counter-intelligence activities. In regard to the donors it is suggested that official SCLC stationery bearing KING's signature, copies of which are available to the Atlanta Office and will be furnished by separate communication to the Bureau Laboratory for reproduction purposes, be utilized in advising the donors that Internal Revenue Service is currently checking tax records of SCLC and that KING through this phoney correspondence wants to advise the donor insuring that he reported his gifts in accordance with Internal Revenue requirements so that he will not become involved in a tax investigation. It is believed such a letter of this type from SCLC may cause considerable concern and eliminate future contributions. From available information it is apparent that many of these contributors to SCLC are doing so in order to claim tax deductions and in order to be eligible for such deductions, the contribution is being made to the Ebenezer Baptist Church, which in turn is forwarded to KING or the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

It is also proposed that pretext calls be placed to Darby Printing Company, impressing upon them the financial plight of SCLC so that they may be incited into collection efforts of the printing bill owed to them in the amount of \$12,000.

It is further suggested that investigative efforts be made in auxiliary offices to determine method used by

AT 100-6520-D  
AFM:elt

KING in settling his accounts and if credit cards are used, appropriate checks of these credit card accounts may develop pertinent information regarding KING's financial dealings.

Atlanta confidential sources also advised that KING has a personal account in New York City and Atlanta, Georgia, at the Citizens Trust Company. The New York bank is unknown. There is also an SCLC banking account in New York City and Atlanta, Ga., also at the Citizens Trust Company. Mr. L. D. MILTON, President of the Citizens Trust Company, Atlanta, Georgia, has in the past been extremely cooperative with the Bureau in other investigative matters; however, it is known that he is personally acquainted and considered friendly with MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., and other members of his immediate family. It is therefore felt that the necessary monitoring of his bank account could not be effective with the desired security warranted in this investigation. It is noted that this bank is owned and operated entirely by members of the Negro race.

F. Subversive Information Regarding Southern  
Christian Leadership Conference Employees

It is noted that Reverend CORDY T. VIVIAN, Director of Affiliates of SCLC, was identified by a Springfield Informant in 1947 as a member of the Communist Party in Peoria, Illinois. Investigation regarding VIVIAN has been instituted to determine his activities since 1947 and whether he has any other subversive affiliations.

EDWINA SMITH, Secretary to the Program Director, Reverend ANDREW YOUNG, of SCLC, while not known personally to be affiliated with any subversive organization, is engaged to HUNTER PITTS O'DELL, a former SCLC employee, and is known to be in frequent contact with him. She has been responsible for the purchase of numerous copies of the publication "Freedomways" some of which were forwarded to SCLC Offices in Atlanta and others to an SCLC School at Dorchester, Georgia.



AT 100-6520-D

BAFM:elt

To date there are no known other subversive affiliations on the part of employees of SCIC in the Atlanta Office. It is suggested that as a counter-intelligence move in this area, that the Bureau or New York may, through its sources or in other ways, establish publically the utilization of "Freedomways", and its connection with the Communist Party, by SCIC.

#### G. Hide-Away

It is noted that the apartment frequently utilized by KING for his clandestine romances (FRED BENNETT's apartment) and ostensibly for writing and resting purposes, has been located at 3006 Delmar Lane, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia. It is noted that this apartment is on the ground floor level having a separate front and rear entrance. The apartment building is of two story construction with partial basement throughout. The apartment building is one of approximately seven buildings in a project all of which are occupied by members of the Negro race. This apartment project is surrounded on either side by other multi-dwelling unit Negro apartments. Directly behind the apartment occupied as a hide-away, a main line of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad is located. On the other side of the railroad, approximately 150-200 yards away in a house occupied by JOHN C. ALLEN, the only white resident, from which the back entrance of the hide-away can be observed. ALLEN is a Plumbing Inspector for the City of Atlanta Construction Department. The Atlanta Police Department, Atlanta Credit Bureau and Atlanta indices have no record of ALLEN or his wife, MARIE. Possibly with a Zoomar lens during daylight hours and with field glasses, the rear entrance only of the hide-away could be covered from the ALLEN residence. However, the value of anything obtained from this type of coverage is not believed would add to information already known to the Atlanta Office. Therefore, no recommendations along these lines are being made from a physical coverage standpoint. It is noted that the front entrance is directly across a parking lot from an apartment occupied by JAMES BEVEL and his wife and small child. BEVEL is an employee of SCIC.

AT 100-6520-D  
AFM:elt

Consideration has been given to requesting Bureau authority for a technical survey in this area; however, Atlanta sources have on numerous occasions indicated an interest on the part of KING and BENNETT of obtaining another apartment in another area. In the event this does not materialize, Bureau authority for technical survey of this facility will be requested. In regard to the utilization of a misur, it is noted that the same basic security problem of an all Negro neighborhood is involved.

#### SCLC Office

Recently certain modifications have been made in the office space occupied by SCLC. Quarters were enlarged and additional employees hired. It is unknown but believed that additional telephone facilities may have been obtained and are possibly being installed at this time. Atlanta will in the near future, through sources, determine what facilities now service the office and make appropriate recommendations therefrom.

The Atlanta Office will, by separate communication, request Bureau authority for making a survey relating to possible installation of trash cover in the office facilities of SCLC.

The above analysis is being set forth withh certain recommendations bearing in mind the main objective of this investigation is to determine extent of communist influence in racial matters and as to how the effectiveness of KING can be neutralized or discredited, either through communist connections, his moral degradation or his financial operations.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

DECLASSIFIED BY *SP2ALM/ef*  
ON *10/16/50* DATE *4/14/64*

~~SECRET~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-116)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-151548)

SUBJECT: CPUSA-NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
RACIAL MATTERS  
IS-C  
(OO: NY)

CLASSIFIED BY *14828*  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY *2*  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE  
*3/31/78*  
*src*

Re Bureau letter to Atlanta, 4/1/64.

The New York Office has analyzed its coverage of the CPUSA's attempts to influence racial matters, both as to the attempts and direction being given by the Party as a National operation and specifically as concerns any influence on MARTIN LUTHER KING and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

## I. Relationship of the CPUSA to Racial Matters

Intensified coverage is afforded to the Party's national headquarters at 23 West 26th Street, New York City, through the following sources:

NY-2353-S\*  
NY-2357-S\*  
NY-2359-S\*  
NY-2362-S\*

NY-2745-S\*  
NY-2858-S\*  
NY-3270-S\*  
NY-3953-S\*

NY-2002-S\*  
NY-2010-S\*  
NY-2017-S\*

(c)

In addition, coverage of the Party's interest in racial matters is also afforded by NY-694-S\* and CG-5824-S\*, because of their ~~personal~~ contacts with Party officials, particularly ~~CUS HALL~~. Coverage also is given by technical means, when feasible, of specific events such as the meeting of the CPUSA National Negro Commission (NNC) in Chicago, in February, 1964, and also by live informant coverage. In the case of the NNC meeting in Chicago, it was covered by several live informants including BA-975-S, a member of this Commission. (S)

- ② - Bureau (100-3-116) (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta (100-6520) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-151548) (414)

JFO:gmd  
(4)

11 APR 15 1964

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It is felt that this coverage is adequate and, as in the case of the NNC meeting, coverage will continue to be afforded to these type meetings which will bear upon the Party's policies with respect to the racial situation in the United States.

As regards the extent of the Party's influence in racial matters, generally, in the United States, it is noted that in October, 1963, there was a meeting of the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the CPUSA, the first two days of which were devoted to a report on civil rights. BENJAMIN DAVIS delivered the report on the civil rights movement, during which he stated that the Party should bear in mind the possibilities of extending its influence in the Negro movement, adding that the image of the Party as a militant organization among the Negro people has been dimmed.

DAVIS said the Party has credits in the Negro struggle, including its participation in numbers in the March on Washington, but "we" have not brought the Party forward up to now and have failed to solve the problem of how to indicate to the Negro the line of march. He added that "we" have shown some responsibility in relation to the Negro freedom movement but still do not have a clear line on the role Communists have to play. He called for the Party to find a center in the South around which to rally progressive forces and said they must get into the struggle in the South and help solve some of the problems, even though there are obstacles in the way, because otherwise the Party would be set back for years.

At the NNC meeting in Chicago in February, 1964, BENJAMIN DAVIS gave the opening report, during which he discussed the role of the CP. He said the CP is not in a position to solve the many organizational questions facing the Negro movement, but can establish a secure base in this movement if it develops and demonstrates a sound line and policy. He asked why the CP must always be discussing how to associate with existing movements and said the Party must take more initiative and organize independent movements around the needs of the people. He said the CP must act boldly and that the entire CP must be involved in the Negro people's struggle.



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JAMES JACKSON, at this meeting, said that the CP has not recruited from the cream of the crop of the Negro people's movement and that the leaders of the Negro people's movement are not associating themselves with the CP. He said this has to be a direction of the CP's work.

The Party, at the present time, through its press, "The Worker", is giving considerable coverage to civil rights actions throughout the United States and editorially is calling for a strong civil rights bill. It also has backed demonstrations such as the school boycotts of public schools.

## II. Communist Influence on SCLC and Its Leaders

The SCLC operation in New York has been, until recently, at 312 West 125th Street, New York City. The function of this office appears to be that of operating the mailing procedures of the Conference. This operation was handled successfully by HUNTER PITTS O'DELL, also known as Jack O'Dell, and was directed primarily toward mailings of fund appeals for the SCLC. O'DELL, however, was dismissed from the SCLC by MARTIN LUTHER KING in the Summer of 1963, following public disclosure in the press of his Communist background. O'DELL recently is reported to have stated that he has not seen MARTIN LUTHER KING since June, 1963.

Following O'DELL's dismissal, the operation of the New York Office of the SCLC floundered under the direction of RUTH BAILEY, an employee who had worked there for O'DELL. New York has no subversive information concerning BAILEY. However, it is felt that because of her possible dismissal from the SCLC, she can be the subject of a counterintelligence effort.

At present, the New York Office operation of the SCLC is being handled by one ADELE KANTER out of the office of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York City. There is no known subversive information concerning her.

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As regards the operation of the New York Office of the SCLC and personal contacts with MARTIN LUTHER KING, the persons who are now directly involved are CLARENCE JONES and STANLEY LEVISON. In addition, BAYARD RUSTIN is being considered for a position with KING and the SCLC, but it does not appear that he will accept this post. The following information concerns these three individuals:

STANLEY LEVISON, along with CLARENCE JONES, is one of the prime movers in the SCLC. As a close confidant of KING, LEVISON has been instrumental in setting policy in the SCLC. He normally meets with KING each time he visits the New York area, and has made trips to Atlanta to consult on matters. (S)(u)

As of July, 1963, LEVISON was a secret member of the CPUSA. In late 1963 and early 1964, he criticized the CP for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. LEVISON was described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position on civil rights, and because of these differences with CP leaders, LEVISON is not now under CP discipline in the civil rights field. There has been no indication, however, that LEVISON does not continue his ideological adherence to Communism. (S)(u)

Following LEVISON's criticism of the Party, BEN DAVIS was designated to be the intermediary between LEVISON and the Party. However, there has been no indication that LEVISON has made any attempt to contact DAVIS, HALL or anyone else in the Party. (S)(u)

CLARENCE JONES is a Negro attorney who, in addition to practicing law with LUBELL, LUBELL and JONES, is the General Counsel for the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York City. JONES also represents MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. JONES has been identified as a person who, during late 1953 or early 1954, was a member of and in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League (LYL, which has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450). JONES is quite



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frequently in contact with STANLEY LEVISON and in these contacts they have discussed problems relating to MARTIN LUTHER KING and his activities, the SCLC in Atlanta, the operation of the SCLC office in New York and civil rights in general. One function which JONES serves at the present time is intermediary between LEVISON and KING since direct contact between LEVISON and KING has been on a limited basis. It is to be noted that no information has been developed that CLARENCE JONES has been in contact with any officials of the CPUSA or that any effort has been made by CPUSA officials to direct JONES in the civil rights movement. (X)(u)

BAYARD RUSTIN, the leader of the March on Washington, the New York City School Boycott and the March on Albany, New York, has been seriously considered for the position of Northern Coordinator for the SCLC. However, this seems to be somewhat in doubt at this time, because RUSTIN prefers to operate in an independent capacity, and due to the reluctance of KING to appoint him at this time.

Recently, indications were that RUSTIN was setting up the A. Phillip Randolph Institute, whose purpose will be to deal with economic and social problems in relation to civil rights.

It is not believed that RUSTIN is going to accept the referenced position in the SCLC, which would preclude contact with KING and other SCLC leaders. Furthermore, there has not been any indication that he has contacted any CP leaders except BENJAMIN J. DAVIS. He asked DAVIS' advice as to how he could escape from speaking at a rally sponsored by the Emergency Committee for Disaster Relief to Cuba. Although RUSTIN contacted DAVIS, it is not believed that he is in contact with other CP leaders, or that he is sympathetic to the CP cause. To substantiate this, RUSTIN as late as April 9, 1964, after addressing a meeting of the National Council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Nyack, New York, said he was opposed to the Communist movement. He said there was no ultimate principle or position in their movement; that he learned first-hand of the Communists' desire to submerge the goal of social justice as a former member of the Youth Communist League before and after the end of World War II. (X)(u)

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III. ~~Freedomways~~ Magazine

This magazine is self-described as a quarterly review of the Negro freedom movement and is a publication established and financed by the CPUSA. Outwardly, it purports to be a legitimate publication with no connection with the CPUSA. However, it identifies ESTHER JACKSON as Managing Editor and the Winter, 1964 issue published a Statement of Ownership filed 10/1/63, with the United States Post Office. This statement shows the owners of the corporation, Freedomways Associates, Inc., which publishes the magazine, as HENRY O. MAYFIELD, DOROTHY BURNHAM and CYRIL PHILIP.

MAYFIELD was a CP member in Brooklyn, New York, who died in December, 1963, but DOROTHY BURNHAM is married to HYMAN LUMER, the Educational Secretary of the CPUSA. CYRIL PHILIP has been identified in "The Worker" as the treasurer of the Hall-Davis Defense Committee.

However, the principal operators of the publication are ESTHER JACKSON, JOHN CLARKE, an Associate Editor, and O'DELL, who is now affiliated with the magazine and has contributed articles to the last two issues.

This publication is seeking to extend its circulation and influence and O'DELL has been instrumental in this endeavor. Because of his background in work for the SCLC, he still has contacts in the civil rights movement and can be of great help in increasing the circulation of "Freedomways", through legitimate civil rights organizations such as the SCLC. O'DELL has discussed the use of "Freedomways" within the SCLC with EDWINA SMITH, a Secretary in the National Office of the SCLC in Atlanta, who is alleged to be his girlfriend. Recently, EDWINA SMITH ordered copies of "Freedomways" to be sent to SEPTIMA P. CLARK, the Director of Teacher Training and Citizenship Education Program of the SCLC, and to the SCLC Headquarters itself.



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IV. Recommendations

With respect to BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, it is to be noted that he is Chairman of the National Negro Commission of the CPUSA, and in this capacity would be in possession of information concerning the CP's position and activities with respect to the Negro Question in the civil rights movement. It is also to be noted that in the recent past, DAVIS has been in contact with BAYARD RUSTIN. In view of this information, it is being recommended that ~~NY-1869-S\*~~, who would be in a position to furnish information concerning DAVIS and his activities, be reactivated; however, this recommendation was submitted recently by the New York Office to the Bureau for its approval, but it was not allowed at that time. (u)

A separate letter will be submitted recommending reinstitution of ~~NY-1869-S\*~~. (u)

With respect to the SCLC office in New York City, it is to be noted that the SCLC has its office at 312 West 125th Street, New York City, in which office RUTH BAILEY works; however, ADELE KANTER, who is an employee of the SCLC and who is frequently in contact with LEVISON, has office space in the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York City. It is being recommended that additional coverage be afforded to the SCLC in this location. Details of this additional coverage will be contained in a separate communication to the Bureau. It is also to be noted that the possibility exists that the entire New York office of the SCLC will be housed at the Gandhi Society.

It is also being recommended that an anonymous letter be sent from Atlanta to RUTH BAILEY, SCLC employee in New York City, in an effort to cause disruption in the New York office of the SCLC and cause friction among RUTH BAILEY, ADELE KANTER, STANLEY LEVISON and CLARENCE JONES. The details of this will be submitted to the Bureau by separate communication.

On 3/25/64, EDWINA SMITH, Secretary to the Program Director of the SCLC, Atlanta, Georgia, ordered 50 copies of

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NY 100-151548

"Freedomways" sent to Mrs. SEPTIMA P. ~~CLARK~~ at the Dorchester Community Center, Midway, Georgia, and 25 copies for the SCLC Headquarters at 334 Auburn Street, Atlanta, Georgia. It would appear that these magazines may be intended for use in the SCLC's training school and it is suggested that the Atlanta Office may be able to determine from a public source that "Freedomways" is being used by the SCLC in its training schools. If such information is obtained, then consideration could be given to the use of Bureau contacts in the mass media field to publicize this information. Such a public disclosure could be most embarrassing and disruptive to the SCLC.

~~SECRET~~



1 - Mr. Phillips

SAC, Atlanta (100-6520)

April 1, 1964

Director, FBI (100-3-116)

PERSONAL ATTENTION

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA.

REDACTED

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/02 BY SP2ALM/ely

You will recall that at the Seat of Government conference attended by two Agents of your office on December 23, 1963, for the purpose of exploring possible avenues of additional investigation in connection with captioned matter, it was decided that because of the necessity for an extremely discreet approach by the Bureau in this matter and because certain facets of our investigation were then relatively new, this matter would be reappraised in approximately 90 days. In the interim, your office was to give consideration to a number of matters having potential for further inquiry. These included: possibilities of anonymous source contacts; possibilities of utilizing contacts in the news media field; initiating discreet checks relative to developing background information on employees of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); remaining alert to the possibility of capitalizing on any disgruntled SCLC employee; the possibility of developing information concerning any financial dealings of King which may be illegal; and the development of subversive information pertaining to SCLC employees.

The Bureau appreciates the suggestion recently made by you that another conference be held at the Seat of Government with representatives of both your office and the New York Office because of the extensive coverage being given by New York in this matter. The Bureau has given thorough consideration to this suggestion but believes that at this time, rather than a conference, receiving offices should make a thorough self-analysis of the handling of this case and related aspects such as investigations of individuals and organizations close to the communist influence in racial

2 - New York (100-151548) (PERSONAL ATTENTION)

SFB;pwd

REC-41

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MAILED 3  
APR 1 1964  
COMM-FBI

Olson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Tosper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Loach \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Letter to Atlanta  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
100-3-116

matters. Some of the things to be considered are those enumerated above although they should not be considered as all-inclusive. Of particular consideration should be the matter of Fred Bennett of Atlanta as it would appear that intensified coverage of him might develop pertinent information relating to Martin Luther King. This specific matter was brought to your attention by other correspondence recently.

At this time it is desired that both receiving offices give the matter of instant investigation a thorough analysis with a view toward suggesting new avenues of investigation and intensification in areas already being explored. Bear in mind the main goals in this matter; namely, determining the extent of the communist influence in racial matters and taking such action as is appropriate to neutralize or completely discredit the effectiveness of Martin Luther King, Jr., as a Negro leader because of the communist influences upon him.

Within 15 days of the receipt of this letter, Atlanta and New York should furnish the Bureau observations and recommendations in accordance with the foregoing.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY SP12/AM/ly

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: December 24, 1963

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*1-Mr. Belmont  
1-Mr. Sullivan  
1-Mr. Baumgardner  
1-Mr. Gurley  
1-Mr. RyanSUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNISTTolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

In view of the influence the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), is exerting on the racial situation, particularly through Martin Luther King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Director approved a conference be held between representatives of our Atlanta Office and Seat of Government personnel.

Recognizing the delicacy of this entire situation because of the prominence of King, the primary purpose of the conference was to explore how best to carry on our investigation to produce the desired results without embarrassment to the Bureau. Included in our discussion was a complete analysis of the avenues of approach aimed at neutralizing King as an effective Negro leader and developing evidence concerning King's continued dependence on communists for guidance and direction.

The conference was held at the Seat of Government on 12-23-63. It was attended by Security Supervisor Henry Rowse and SA Robert Nichols from our Atlanta Office. The Seat of Government representatives were Assistant Director W. C. Sullivan, Inspector Joseph A. Sizoo, Section Chief F. J. Baumgardner and Supervisors L. T. Gurley and David Ryan. The conference lasted from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m.

Assistant Director Sullivan briefed the conference on the task at hand. He pointed out the necessity for good judgment and discretion in conducting any investigation concerning this matter. He made it clear it was necessary for us to continue obtaining evidence of the CPUSA's influence on King and, through King, influence on the Negro people. Mr. Sullivan also stressed the fact that, although King is a minister, we have already developed information concerning weaknesses in his character which are of such a nature as to make him unfit to serve as a minister of the gospel.

Mr. Sullivan pointed out that the field should continue to gather information concerning King's personal activities, such as

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FJB:skw  
(6)

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57 JAN 13 1964 JAN 8 1964

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

getting drunk and associating with women other than his wife, in order that we may consider using this information at an opportune time in a counterintelligence move to discredit him.

During the discussion which followed, the men from the field outlined in detail the operation of the SCLC in Atlanta and the manner in which it is managed by King.

Our discreet approach to this case has been necessitated by King's prominence and the delicate situation which surrounds the entire racial movement. A wrong move could well result in extreme embarrassment to the Bureau. As a result of the conference, it was decided we need to develop additional information in the following areas:

- (1) We must determine and check out all of the employees of the SCLC.
- (2) We must locate and monitor the funds of the SCLC.
- (3) We must identify and check out the sources who contribute to the SCLC.
- (4) We must continue to keep close watch on King's personal activities.
- (5) We will, at the proper time when it can be done without embarrassment to the Bureau, expose King as an (immoral) opportunist who is not a sincere person but is exploiting the racial situation for personal gain.
- (6) We will explore the possibility of utilizing additional specialized investigative techniques at the SCLC office.

Our technical coverage on King and the SCLC is producing excellent information. It was decided that, in view of this fact and since we could not engage in active investigation at this time without embarrassment to the Bureau, we would hold in abeyance open investigation as outlined above for another 90 days. During this time, we will utilize the information obtained from our technical coverage and conduct whatever investigation can be made discreetly.



Memorandum to Mr. Belmont  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

This conference proved to be most beneficial, and the men from the field expressed their appreciation for the opportunity of being brought into the Seat of Government for the purpose of exploring this entire matter. They were both enthusiastic about the case and stated the conference was of exceptional benefit to them and will be of assistance in setting the future course of the investigation.

ACTION:

We will continue to give this case priority attention both at the Seat of Government and in the field and will expose King for the clerical fraud and Marxist he is at the first opportunity. At the end of the 90-day period, or sooner if conditions permit, we will make a further recommendation as to whether we are in a position at that time to take further action against King and the SCLC without embarrassment to the Bureau.

4013 Lrs.  
Jed  
JH Wed  
OK  
H  
[Signature]

QUESTIONS TO BE EXPLORED AT CONFERENCE

12/23/63/RE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN  
RACIAL MATTERS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 10/16/00 BY SP2AM/ely

(1) Can colored Agents be of any assistance to us in the Atlanta area and, if so, how many will be needed?

(2) Possibilities of contacting anonymous sources at the home of King and/or SCLC.

(3) a) What do we know about the background of King's girlfriends and their husbands?

b) Could we convert any of their weak points to strong points for us?

(4) Does the office have any contacts among ministers, both colored and white, who are in a position to be of assistance and, if so, in what manner could we use them?

(5) Does the office have contacts among newspaper people aggressive enough to be of assistance to us; that is, aggressive enough to photograph King with his girlfriends and/or communists with whom he is in contact?

(6) Would tesurs and/or inform on King's girlfriends help to set up a counterintelligence move, bearing in mind the possibility of telephoning the girlfriend's husband when King is known to be at the residence of said girlfriend?

(7) What do we know about King's housekeeper? In what manner can we use her?

(8) What are the possibilities of using Mrs. King?

(9) What do we know about the background of people presently employed in the office of SCLC and can we use any of them?

(10) Are there any disgruntled employees at SCLC and/or former employees who may be disgruntled or disgruntled acquaintances?

(11) What is the setup of the SCLC office? Do King's girlfriends visit him there and, if so, do they use the front door or back door? What is the possibility of setting up a photo-fisur on the door used by girlfriends, if used often enough, and using a friendly newspaperman or TV station to record this activity? (This would be similar to CBS activity in Boston several months ago when that company made a film of police officers visiting hookie joints in the Boston area.)

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*not at this time*  
(12) What are the possibilities of placing a good looking female plant in King's office?

*well*  
(13) Do we have any information concerning any shady financial dealings of King which could be used to our advantage? Has this point ever been explored before?

*office will get photos of women*  
(14) Discuss the possibility of having an Agent accompany King and any girlfriend who might travel together. In this manner, the Agent would be aware of the identity and/or description of the companion and would preclude the possibility of embarrassment in the event of a counter-intelligence move, bearing in mind that when King leaves with a girlfriend she could disembark at some point along the route and King could be joined by his wife prior to reaching his final destination.

*will do*  
(15) Instruct that in the future Atlanta is to call information to other offices when King is traveling rather than send a teletype and instruct the other offices to do likewise. In this manner the whole object of attempting to expose King can be explained.

*Don't*  
(16) Full and complete discussion on the fact that we are attempting to expose King because of communist influences brought to bear on him and that in addition to being aware of his travels and activities, we are most interested in exposing him in some manner or another in order to discredit him.

(17) A discussion on the direct approach to King through the use of high officials, such as Robert F. Kennedy and Assistant Director Sullivan as a combination, pointing out to him the tremendous responsibilities which he has as a Negro leader and confronting him with some of the information which we have. There are many dangers inherent in such an approach but it cannot be discounted and some discussion should take place as to the dangers and advantages.



(18) When it is known that King and various communists or subversives will meet in Atlanta, consideration should be given to the use of all investigative techniques in covering such meet. Consider all counterintelligence possibilities to neutralize or disrupt such meeting and submit your plans to the Bureau for approval.

(19) Fulllest consideration must be given to any influence which communist front groups are affording to the racial situation.

(20) Are all employees of SCLC with subversive backgrounds or connections being given appropriate attention? Are new employees of SCLC checked out for subversive background and/or possible use as sources?

(21) Because of the Bureau's responsibility for timely dissemination of pertinent information to the Department and other interested agencies, it is more than ever necessary that all facets of this matter receive prompt handling. The success of our efforts is dependent upon the judicious application of all available investigative techniques coupled with meticulous planning, boldness and ingenuity, tempered with good judgment. Our discretion must not reach the point of timidity.



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/15/00 BY SP2AM/ely

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: December 19, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Administrative Division
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Denz
- 1 - Mr. Gurley

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

This memorandum recommends that Special Agent Henry G. Rowse, Security Supervisor, and Special Agent Robert R. Nichols, both of the Atlanta Office, be ordered to report to the Bureau on 12/23/63 for a one-day conference in order to explore fully the communist influence in racial matters as it pertains to Martin Luther King, Jr., whose headquarters are in Atlanta, Georgia, and to discuss avenues of approach to exposing King's unholy alliance with the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA).

The racial unrest in the United States is currently the target for a determined concentration of communist effort. Communists are using every means possible to divert the course and force of the unrest into support of communist objectives. Long-range communist strategy looks to the establishment of a Negro-labor coalition which the communists hope to be able to manipulate as a powerful political action weapon. This communist goal constitutes a serious national security problem in light of the fact that the individual playing a most dominant role as a leading spokesman for the estimated 20 million Negroes in this country today, Martin Luther King, Jr., is knowingly, willingly and regularly cooperating with and taking guidance from communists. King is using the communists and in turn is being used by them.

The composite of information available about King depicts an unprincipled opportunistic individual, as well as a man considered and described within the Party as a Marxist. Because of the important role he plays in the Negro movement and communist influence being brought to bear upon him, Atlanta has been instructed to keep the Bureau and pertinent offices advised of King's travels and his activities. Those offices have also been instructed to take no action which would embarrass the Bureau or which would make King aware of our coverage of him.

In order to explore fully the communist influence in racial matters and pin down all facets of the investigation as it pertains to King, as well as to discuss avenues of approach to exposing King's unholy alliance with the CPUSA and the delicacy of handling this phase of our investigation, it is deemed advisable and fully justified to have Henry G.

Enc.

100-3-116

JAN 17 1964  
LTG:kmj (7)

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

JAN 14 1964

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA  
NEGRO QUESTION  
COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS  
100-3-116

Rowse, the Security Supervisor, and Robert R. Nichols, the case Agent, both of the Atlanta Office, report to the Bureau on 12/23/63 for a one-day conference.

**ACTION:**

That the attached teletype directing Rowse and Nichols to report to the Bureau on 12/23/63 be approved.

*J.H.*  
*M.H.*  
*G.H.*

*W.S.*

*Q*

*H.*  
*G.H.*  
*J.*

*V. Kuyne*



12/20/63

PLAIN TEXT

TELETYPE

URGENT

1 - Mr. Belmont  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Administrative Division  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Mr. Penz  
1 - Mr. Gurley

TO SAC ATLANTA

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, NEGRO QUESTION, COMMUNIST INFLUENCE  
IN RACIAL MATTERS, IS - C.

SPECIAL AGENTS HENRY G. ROWSE AND ROBERT E. NICHOLS  
INSTRUCTED REPORT TO OFFICE OF ASSISTANT DIRECTOR WILLIAM C.  
SULLIVAN NINE A.M. DECEMBER TWENTY-THREE NEXT FOR ONE-DAY  
CONFERENCE. EACH SHOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS ALL ASPECTS  
OF CAPTIONED MATTER YOUR TERRITORY.

LTG:KEJ  
(8)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY 60284M/ky

NOTE:

See memo Baumgardner to Sullivan dated 12/19/63 captioned  
as above, LTG:KEJ.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/10 BY SP2 ALM/ky

62-116395-650

12  
ENCL. 16

SFP:eks 9/8/75

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

U. S. SENATE SELECT  
COMMITTEE ON  
INTELLIGENCE  
ACTIVITIES (SSC)

Re is made to this Bu's  
letter and memo dated  
9/3/75, which effected a  
partial delivery to the SSC of materials  
concerning Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., based on  
SSC requests dated July 8, 1975, and July 14,  
1975. Encl'd for approval and forwarding to  
the SSC is the orig of a memo in further/partial  
response to the aforementioned two SSC requests.



SSC LETTER 7-14-75

ITEM #7

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/02 BY SP2 AM/ehj

RETAIN

MEMORANDUM TO MR. TOLSON  
MR. BELMONT  
MR. DE LOACH  
MR. ROSEN  
MR. SULLIVAN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 10/16/00 BY SP1 AL

The first matter discussed was the Bobby Baker case and its various ramifications. I informed the Attorney General that we were daily receiving memoranda from the Criminal Division of the Department asking for additional investigations and we had given this particular matter top priority.

We then discussed the Ellen Rometsch case. I outlined to the Attorney General the details of this situation and the ramifications of it.

by the other women who had been in the so-called "call girl" operation,  
although one of the women had admitted as having as clients ten or twelve  
senators.

olson \_\_\_\_\_  
 elmont by the other women  
 ohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 asper although one of the  
 allahan Senators.  
 onrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 eLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 vance \_\_\_\_\_  
 de JER:emm  
 asen (3)  
 illivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 vel 1 - Miss Holmes  
 otter \_\_\_\_\_  
 le. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 lmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 ndy \_\_\_\_\_

NOV 12 1963

22 NOV 12 1963

This document is prepared in response to your request and is not for dissemination outside your Committee. Its use is limited to official proceedings by your Committee and the content may not be disclosed to unauthorized personnel without the express approval of the FBI.

22 NOV 12 1963



Memorandum to Messrs. Tolson, Belmont, DeLoach,  
Rosen, Sullivan

November 7, 1963

We then discussed the Birmingham bombing situation and I advised the Attorney General of the obstruction which the Alabama State Highway Patrol had placed in our way of what was then an early solution of the case, but that we were working intensely upon it and hoped ultimately to be able to bring about the apprehension of the persons responsible for the bombing of the church in which the four little girls were killed.

The Attorney General then mentioned the recent monograph on Communism in the racial situation. He stated that the Defense Department had advised him of it. I told him that he had also been furnished a copy of the same time that we had made distribution to the Defense Department, the White House, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the State Department. He stated that he was quite concerned about the contents because while it did not state that Ling was a Communist, nevertheless, one could quickly draw that conclusion. I told him that every statement made in the document was accurate and supported by facts.

He stated he of course realized this but felt that it would be desirable to recall all of the documents because he did not know who else might see it other than those to whom we had distributed the document. I told the Attorney General that his request would be immediately acted upon, and after the Attorney General left my office I communicated with Mr. Belmont and asked him to see that all copies of the document had been obtained and kept in security.

Very truly yours,

J. E. H.

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 1:10 PM
DATE 11-8-63
BY [Signature]